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D.D. KOSAMBI

COMMEMORATION VOLUME

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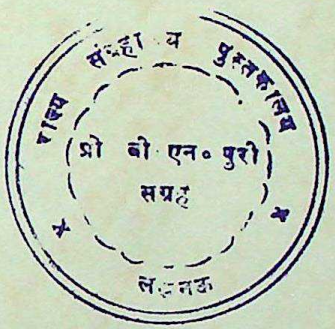

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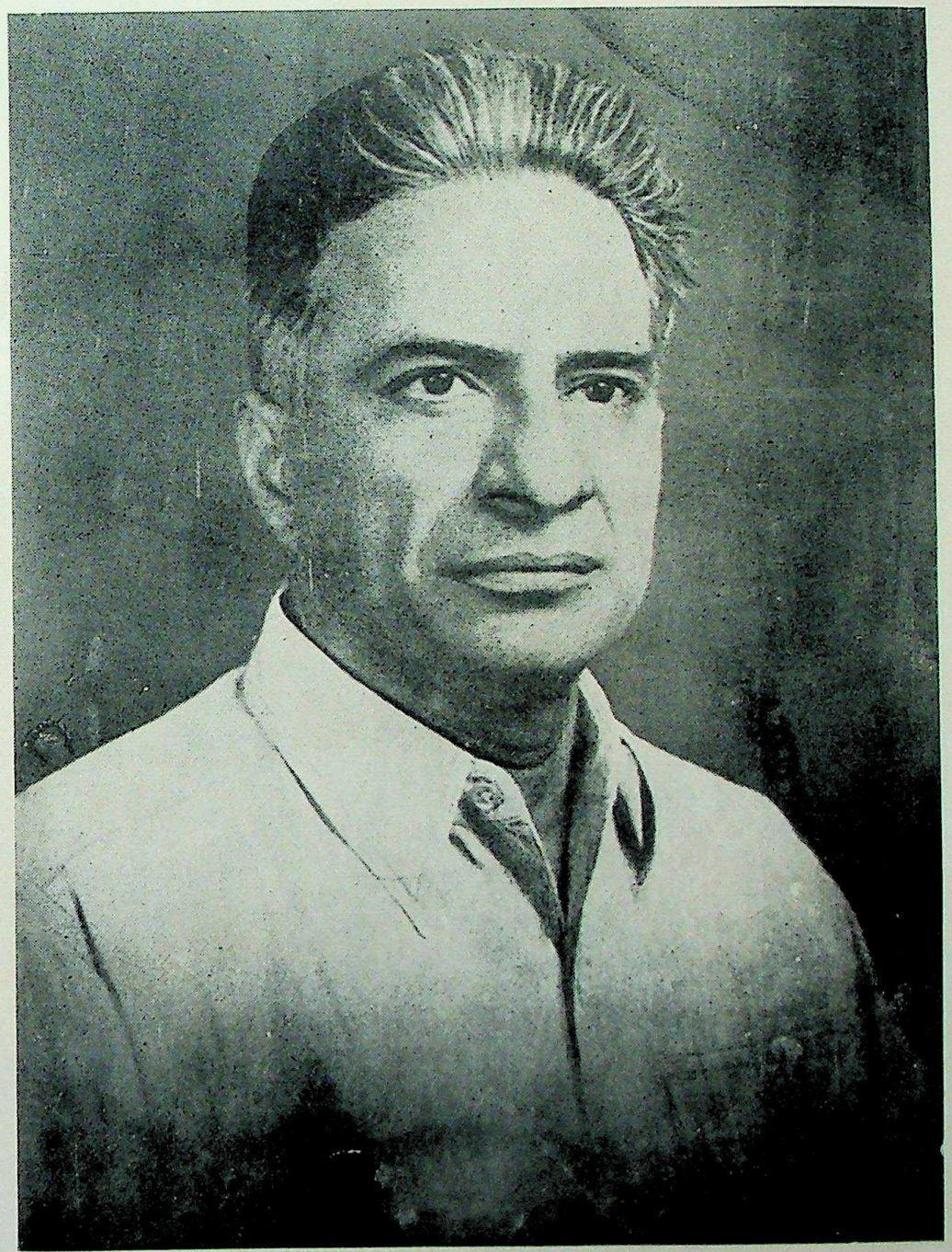

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Inauguration of Prof. D. D. Kosambi Commemoration Lecture Series by Prof. S. Nurul Hasan

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FOREWORD

I have great pleasure in associating myself with the homage that is being paid to the memory of the late Professor D. D. Kosambi, one of the finest intellectuals produced by modern India.

Although his discipline was mathematics, he was deeply interested in India's history and culture and acquired a knowledge of the source material which will bring credit to anyone. He accepted the theory of the dialectical materialism and applied it systematically to the study of Indian history. Even those who may not fully agree with his conclusions cannot but admire the brilliance of his ideas and the strength of his arguments. He is one of the pioneers in giving to the study of Indian history and culture a scientific basis. Professor Kosambi was no mere scholar-like a true intellectual he was deeply committed to the welfare of mankind and in particular to the cause of the common man. I had the privilege of learning a great deal from him when we discussed at length the problems of interpreting the archaeological data obtained by the Aligarh Muslim University at Atranjikhera. Equally he was the first person to give me an indication as to how the enormous statistical data available in the revenue records of Rajasthan for the 17th and 18th Centuries could be interpreted.

I would like to congratulate Dr. Lallanji Gopal who was closely associated with Professor Kosambi in interpreting the socio-economic history in the medieval India, for bringing out this volume.

S. NURUL HASAN
Education Minister,
India

New Delhi
24 March, 1977

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PREFACE

Earlier two Commemoration Volumes in honour of late Prof. D. D. Kosambi had been released, one entitled *Science and Human Progress* published by the Popular Prakashan, Bombay and the other with the title *Indian Society Historical Probings* planned by the Indian Council of Historical Research. But, to cover adequately the many-sided genius of Prof. Kosambi and to pay befitting homage to his contributions towards the enrichment of human society and scholarship, we require many more such volumes. Hence our present volume does not require pleadings to justify itself.

Prof. Kosambi had very intimate connexions with the Banaras Hindu University and some of its teachers and students. His first assignment as a teacher was in the Mathematics Department of this University. Even after relinquishing this position he maintained his contacts and visited the University from time to time. I have very vivid memories of his busy schedules on these occasions from 1964 onwards. He was in hot demand in a number of departments. It was real intellectual feat when the Professor addressed the teachers and research scholars in the Department of Zoology on some problem of genetics and then rushed to the College of Indology to resume his series of talks on Indian prehistory. I had the privilege to meet him first in 1964. At that time I was holding the post of Reader in the Department of History. I had no information about the series of lectures Prof. Kosambi was giving in the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology. Prof. Kosambi knew that I was in Varanasi and expressed his surprise at my absence. This was communicated to me and hence I attended his lecture the next day.

Our contacts grew closer. We had several occasions to share views on topics of mutual interest. Though I ventured to differ on certain points of vital historical significance. I always received his appreciative encouragement. Many young researchers in the country will confirm the patronising encouragement he gave to their researches and the almost parental interest he took in them. He would prefer to discuss the new researches of a young co-worker and stroll on the street rather than to accept the presonal invitation of some high dignitary for tea or dinner.

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I have a photographic memory of Prof. Kosambi's participation in the Seminar on the Chronology of Punch-marked Coins organised by the Department in the Hall of the Numismatic Society of India. Prof. Kosambi placed his views with absolute clarity. He brought his knowledge of many disciplines and languages to bear on the problem. It was difficult to match his skill in arguing. Scholars who approached the numismatic problem from their own particular point of view felt dwarfed in the presence of Prof. Kosambi who towered over them not only by his robust American personality but also by the heights of his intellectual attainments.

We learnt about the sudden and tragic death of Prof. Kosambi when we were in the midst of the editing of the discussions of the Seminar on the Chronology of Punch-marked Coins. I had a natural urge to dedicate the volume to Prof. Kosambi who had given a new direction to research studies on the Punch-marked coins and had also made useful contribution to the Seminar. But, for certain reasons it could not be implemented.

The recognition of the sterling contributions of Prof. Kosambi to science, Indology and humanism grew gradually in the country and, what is probably more momentous, in overseas countries. To pay our homage to this great intellectual of the country, who was also associated with the University, Dr. K. L. Shrimali, the then Vice-Chancellor, constituted Prof. D. D. Kosambi Commemoration Committee with renowned academicians representing different disciplines as its members. The Commemoration celebrations had a prestigious beginning being inaugurated by Prof. S. Nurul Hasan, Minister for Education, Government of India. The Committee arranged lectures by eminent scholars and educationists on several interesting problems of Indian history and culture.

In the present volume we have collected all these papers and also some others which we received from scholars who kindly agreed to associate themselves in paying homage to Prof. Kosambi. The other two Commemoration Volumes contain the tributes paid by some out of the numerous associates and admirers of Prof. Kosambi, his biographical sketch and a bibliography of his writings with his own pithy comments. We have avoided duplicating these in the present volume.

The articles in the Volume are not planned to cover any particular period or theme in Indian history. They generally concern topics in which Prof. Kosambi was interested. The articles are not arranged in any sequence. We have published them in the order they have been received. We offer the

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volume to our readers in the fervent hope that the academic values and disciplines for which Prof. Kosambi stood may create interest in larger number of people so that they may be further studied and explored.

We are beholden to Prof. S. Nurul Hasan for kindly inaugurating our celebrations. We are grateful to Dr. K.L. Shrimali for fathering the programmes. Dr. M.L. Dhar, the present Vice-Chancellor of the University, has blessed the Commemoration programme with a paternal care and concern.

The contributors to the volume are to be thanked for their kind cooperation. Thanks are also due to the members of the Commemoration Committee. The proprietors of the Tara Printing Works have obliged us by undertaking the work at an extremely short notice. I have a word of special thanks to my colleagues Dr. J. P. Singh and Dr. Nisar Ahmad for supervising the printing of the volume.

Varanasi
March 6, 1977.

Lallanji Gopal

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D. D. KOSAMBI'S CONCEPTION OF SLAVERY AND FEUDALISM IN THE LIGHT OF SOME RECENT INVESTIGATION

JINDRICH TOMAS

Because of their importance, certain aspects of historical evolution are attracting the particular interest of a great number of scholars. Among these aspects are problems connected with the fundamental stages of the evolution of human society and their regular occurrence in the concrete historical process taking place in various countries i. e., the problems of socio-economic formations.

No wonder we seek such problems and their solutions in the work of D. D. Kosambi, a historian outstanding for his brilliant, logical clarity and his ability to apply Marxist theory to the complicated aspects and processes of Indian history. It is very interesting to summarize his attitude toward the existence and importance of slavery and feudalism as stages in the evolution of Indian history.

D. D. Kosambi's first occasion for explaining his views on the role of slavery in Indian history was his recension of S. H. Dange's book *India from Primitive Communism to Slavery*.[1] In it, one can already find Kosambi's basic idea that the formation of the śūdra caste prevented the development of slavery in India. The *dāsa* was a house-servant or bondman, not a chattel-slave bought and sold like an animal for heavy labour in the fields or mines. Kosambi asserts that the basis of the class system in Ancient India was helotage, not slavery.

Kosambi further explained his conception in his polemics with D. A. Suleikin's study on fundamental questions concerning the periods of Ancient Indian history in his work "On a Marxist Approach to Indian Chronology."[2]

He points to the difficulties connected with applying a periodization to India as a whole and the variation of the basic terms involved and rejects Suleikin's conception of slavery as having been influenced by European parallels. The number of slaves in India was negligible and they had no function in production relations, he points out. In tribal times the śūdras were not private property but slaves of the community as a whole, who were later tied to the soil. The caste system prevented the formation of large-scale chattel-slavery.

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Kosambi explained his main ideas, which has been constructed on the basis of the method on historical analysis, in his concise outline "Stages of Indian History."[3] These principle stages were :

1. The urbane but stagnant Indus Valley culture (3000-1500 B. C.);
2. Aryanization, i. e. the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age pastoral-nomadic organization of the two-caste system, which developed into four-caste classes by 800 B. C.;
3. The clearing and settlement of the heavily-forested Ganges alluvial basin with the use of śūdra labour, mostly on the instigation of the Magadhan state (500-250 B. C.);
4. A primitive type of feudalism in which the peninsula was properly developed for trade and agriculture (private property-even with respect to the land-before 400 A. D.);
5. "Pure" feudalism beginning in the later Gupta period but enormously stimulated by Muslim trade and military penetration after 1200 A. D.;
6. Modern capitalism, culminating in the rule of a new indigenous bourgeoisie.

Kosambi explains the main features of the individual stages. The non-existence of a slave society in Indian history is firmly uphold by him. The author uses the term "feudalism from above" for the beginning and "feudalism from below" for the subsequently developed form of this society; the term "Asian feudalism" also appears.

The book *Introduction to the Study of Indian History* contains the most detailed exposition of Kosambi's ideas.[4] Kosambi acknowledges the class structure of the oldest stage of the evolution of Indian civilisation—the Indus Valley cities—and he underlines that religion, as the known facts imply, was of great importance there and had the effect of reducing the need for violence to a minimum. Kosambi mentions the barrack-like quarters which could only have been the dwellings of slaves: "temple slaves would seem indicated for the Indus cities, as they are by the Mesopotamian tablets", he points out.[5] He writes about the possibility of slavery in the Indus Valley being similar to that of Mesopotamia, which had two classes—one that could eventually free itself and the other that could not.

After the first migratory wave that destroyed the Indus Valley cities, the later Aryans advanced to the East from the Punjab with a better food

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production technique (the plough) and a new social organisation. Theirs was a class society; the Aryans had a servant class that conquered *dāsa* population. Kosambi states that Aryan society's development would have been more natural if the type of slavery in the Indus Valley had been similar to that of Mesopotamia; the first of the above-mentioned forms—temporal slaves—was undoubtedly precisely that of *Arthaśāstra*, the position of the other form of slaves—the temple slaves—was like that of the śūdra in India, the temple was replaced by the Aryan tribe, or later by the three Aryan upper castes. Kosambi explains that the term "*dāsa*" came to mean a helot of some sort. The vaiśyas (settlers) and the śūdras (helots) were to be exploited for the advantage of the ruling warrior caste, the kshatriya with the brahmin priest's help. The new form of organization secured a supply of labour, the surplus of which was easily expropriated and with the help of which new lands were settled. Nevertheless it was not a slave society, according to Kosambi.

In connection with the evolution of the period of the rise and flourishing of the Magadha kingdom, Aśoka, he stresses the great importance of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* as a source of social relations. Kosambi argues against the objections that this work did not originate in Mauryan times, before the time of Aśoka. He emphasises that no such state existed during the first centuries A.D. in which this sort of work could have emerged. The pre-Aśokan state had a highly centralized administration which led and controlled the kingdom's entire economic and social life. This implied that royal officials had great importance and a dominant position in the class structure. But Kosambi mentions another important upper class which is covered, without any specification as to the caste, by the dual term *paura-jānapada*. These were citizens of property who had a strong following (presumably among the tribal population) and a special position in the state. These persons paid a tax of the sixth on produce (on the long settled-lands). Such citizens had a recent tribal past. The taxes they paid were those which were formerly paid by the chief, who had by now been replaced by the emperor. "Their taxes were insufficient to run the state of that period," says Kosambi. "The *janapada* magnate was not a feudal or private landlord, but the head of such a large band" (i. e. the large patriarchal family groups). His profits derived from trade with the surplus produced by its members, whose profits were gradually converted into private property. "The seeds of landlordism and 'Asiatic' production were certainly present in this situation, but not the full later growth "[6]

What were the forms of exploitation ? According to D. D. Kosambi, slavery had no significance at the time of *Arthaśāstra*, and especially not in the

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sphere of production (the slaves were mostly household slaves). What class was the most exploited class? It is not possible to infer that this class was constituted by the peasants as a whole. The answer is not so simple. It is necessary to understand the main types of village population in existence at that time and the forms of dependence on the state or upper classes. Kosambi has a special idea concerning the ownership of the land. He argues that in tribal times land was not property, but territory and that "Land was not yet property in the sense of purchase and sale, like trade goods." Cultivable land was the privilage, token, of membership in a community, as it remained till the end of feudalism." Purchase was rare, but there was private ownership of some lands in urban areas. "The Greeks were justified in thinking that all land belonged to the state, or the king."[7]

A long drawn out process took place of the settling of new areas and the forming of new villages. According to Kosambi's explanation of *Arthaśāstra*, the new villages in those times were established on lands that were the king's private property, on *sītā* lands.[8] The newly settled population were the śūdras, weaponless. The taxes they had to pay were heavier than those on the old settled lands and their dependence on the state was much greater (the holder had his land only for the period of his own life-time). There was, apparently, some private enterprise on lands outside the tribal and *sītā* territory. Kosambi characterizes the śūdras as helots and argues that the śūdra helot made large-scale chattel-slavery unnecessary for good production. There were also tenants who lived under worse conditions—the half sharecroppers. A manager of the crown lands had to make the unsown land available to them. Such tenants were to be found not only on state lands, but also on privately held lands. This system had its continuation in feudal times. Kosambi emphasizes that state undertakings such as the settlement of *sītā* lands were mainly the business of the *Arthaśāstra* state; its purpose was clearly that of relief of the *pcura-jānapadas* from extra burdens. The *Arthaśāstra* state was hostile to slavery. One way of keeping the state monopoly over basic production was to forbid large-scale chattel-slavery (although there were slaves, but in a negligible proportion—they were mostly household slaves). One reason for the reliability of the Megasthenes' information concerning slavery is the fact, according to Kosambi, that if the Indians had the Greek type of slavery then the victorious Chandragupta would have carried off many of the defeated people as slaves, but there is no mention of this. Kosambi summarizes by saying that: "Slavery never preponderated over Indian production as it had in the Greek and Roman. The great patriarchal household was not the equivalent of the Roman villa, a feudal manor... ."[9] But there was a tension between the monopolist state and a new

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private settlement of waste land and this was one of the ultimate causes for the Aśokan reform.

The towns could not supply the countryside with commodity production, the artisan merchant did not have enough cheap labour, the drudges were paid by the state, śūdras had settled the *sītā* lands and slave workers were too costly. The craftsmen moved to the villages, the state revenues had diminished and the administrative apparatus was impossible to maintain. The settlements had expanded into worse territories and the administration of *sītā* villages had become too expensive. The purpose of the Aśokan reform was to reduce the cost of the expensive state mechanism with the aid of religion.

During the later evolution (at the time of *Manusmṛiti*), the great central state vanished and the old settled lands and new state lands merged into a general settlement. The villages became self-sufficient as the unit of basic production and consumption, along with the free but propertiless śūdras as the main source of expropriable labour; the village gave India its fundamental appearence of unity and changelessness right down to modern times. All land was taxed nearly uniformly and more lightly than before. The state officials were paid with a share of the revenue, the taxes of the artisans and labourers were a form of unpaid labour (a characteristic of feudalism). The king was only nominally the owner of all land. There were private holdings and the unit of ownership was the large patriarchal upper-caste family household. The post-Buddhist brahmins had a great deal to do with the promoting of new settlements in the South. The caste system represented the class structure, e.g. there were different rates of interest according to caste; debt-slavery existed. The administrations over the villages remunerated by special landholdings or revenues of villages and even whole towns. Kosambi asserts that this was a proto-feudal system. The gifts of land to the brahmins were gifts of royal prerogatives, i.e. taxes. "It was by no means a feudal holding, as the ruler claimed no service in return," states Kosambi.[10]

But the first centuries A.D. and the Gupta period paved the way for the first form of feudalism, "feudalism from above", (as Kosambi calls it). This meant a state wherein an emperor or powerful king levied tribute from his subordinates who still ruled in their own right. These subordinate rulers might even have been tribal chiefs, and seem in general to have ruled the land by direct administration.

Kosambi quotes the Chinese Fa-hien report concerning the period of about 400 A.D. and concludes that the officials had not as yet acquired feudal

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rights and powers. In another Chinese report, the situation of the first half of the seventh century is described.

The actual rulers were the kshatriya nobility (the former *paura-jānapada* mentioned by Kosambi). The officials had their own plots of special crown lands. Subsequently the kingdoms after Harsha became smaller and the class of feudal landowners—in fact, if not in theory—grew in number, power and importance, to become the intermediary stratum between the king and his subjects, the real basic class of the state. This was not yet the form of the later feudalism, states the author. "Feudalism from below" implies the next stage in which a class of landowners developed within the village, between the state and the peasantry, which gradually came to wield armed power over the local population. The process developed long before the Muslims came on the scene but they gave great stimulus to its progress. A great increase in taxes took place, the tax-collectors became important, they had armed attendants and acted as feudal agents. "Thus most of the land was transformed rapidly into feudal property of landlords responsible only to a higher feudal lord, not to the communes...," he concludes.[11]

Kosambi attempts to make a comparison between feudalism in India and the feudalism that had European, specifically English, characteristics (as quoted from the book by Marian Gibbs: *Jeudal Order*). Feudalism's essential characteristics were :

1—a low level of techniques (especially true of India);

2—household production (especially true of India);

3—demesne farming by compulsory labour service (not true of India, but the later Indian feudal lords tried something of this sort—often carried out by slaves);

4—political decentralization (true of India);

5—the conditional holding of land by lords on some kind of service-tenure basis (especially Rajputs and earlier Muslims);

6—possession by a lord of judicial functions in relation to the dependent population (especially true of later feudalism).

As differences between India and Europe Kosambi mentions the increase of slavery, the absence of guilds and the lack of an organized church with the caste replacing both guild and church. Kosambi acknowledges the term "feudalism" for Indian history and its resemblances (and also differences) with respect to European forms. The greatest problem lies therefore, in the

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study of the structure and characteristics of socio-economic formation during the stage preceding feudalism and following the stage of the primitive communal formation. This is connected with the relative importance of slavery in the evolution of Indian society.[12]

The study of Indian slavery made great progress from the time of Kosambis "*Introduction*". We may mention only a few of the studies concerning this theme.

The Czech scholar V. Fris in his article "The Slave-owning Order in Ancient India"[13] argues that the existence of the caste system influenced the transition from slavery to feudalism in India without great upheavals.

Of great importance is the book by D. R. Chanana *Slavery in Ancient India.*[14] Its author also used as source material the Pali texts. His conclusions strongly indicate the great importance of slavery in Ancient India (though not in the forms that existed in Rome and Greece). The rich traders in Mauryan times owned estates, and even whole villages, and they let them be cultivated by slaves or by tenants. Slaves were not only to be found on the large estates. In the preface to the Russian edition of this book by G. M. Bongard Levin and G. F. Iljin, attention is drawn to the fact that Chanana had taken no account of the Indian village community.

An outstanding position in the historiography of Indian slavery is held by the studies by G. F. Iljin.[15] In the oldest, Iljin describes the characteristics of various categories of slaves in India and underlines the fact that there was not such a great difference between slaves and free labourers as there had been in the antique world. In his later study,[16] he describes the various forms of origin, existence, labour and living conditions of the slaves; he points to the partiarchal forms of slavery, underlining that slave labour was much more widespread than had previously been believed, although a majority of non-slaves probably predominated. He explains the importance of household labour for ancient production. Iljin stresses that the main importance of slavery was not the number of slaves in society, but the fact that this was the optimal form of exploitation, the form that influenced the other forms of exploitation as well. The slaves and the slave-owners were the two poles determining the social structure of ancient society.

In his book on Mauryan times, G. M. Bongard-Levin also devotes attention to the problems of slavery.[17] He underlines the undeveloped economic and patriarchal forms, the proximity to hired labour and the widespread use of slaves in housekeeping and acknowledges that in the main spheres of

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production in agriculture above all the labour of the free villagers (peasants), tenants and various categories of hired and dependent workers prevailed over slave labour. But, even though it did not form the basis of the economy, slavery was a progressive phenomenon which influenced all spheres of social life.

Questions concerning the relations between the slaves and the śūdras are dealt with by R.S. Sharma.[18] He argues that the śūdras were a form of helots, or partial slaves. During the first centuries A.D. for the most part, the śūdras were in the process of merging with the vaiśyas into a new, dependent form of peasants. Only in Mauryan times could the beginning of this evolution be seen; this was the period of the greatest importance of slavery.

L. Gopal[19] also devoted attention to Kosambi's inferences that the śūdras in the form of helots prevented the growth of slavery in India.

The socio-economic forms of class society in ancient India are the object of a study by E.M. Medvedev.[20] This author does not agree with the proposition of the existence of a slave-owning society; rather, he emphasizes that slavery existed in India only on a small scale and that hired workers were of a great importance, and he argues that the basis of exploitation were the community peasants (land being the property of the state and that tax rent was the main means of exploitation). In India, the slave and feudal forms of exploitation came into being at the same time; the form of the ancient Indian class society must be considered as the first stage (in the first centuries A.D.) to which the term proto-feudal can be applied. Medvedev acknowledges two stages of ancient Indian history, the predominant tendency during the first stage being the tendency toward slavery. Medvedev rejects the assertions of Iljin as unconvincing for him and underlines the scarcity of indications of large estates (3-4 quoted by Iljin) and the fact that the majority of sources dealing with Indian slavery date from the 1st-6th centuries A.D.[21]

The same probem (the class characteristics of ancient Indian society) was treated once again by Iljin.[22] He rejects the idea of an Asian or feudal form of ancient Indian society and emphasizes the importance of slavery (to a greater extent than in his former studies) as well as the existence of large estates with many slaves, their share in production, and the great importance of semi-slave forms of labour. He also argues that slavery accelerated the differentiation within the ancient society and had an active role in the evolution of production, but he admits that this ancient Indian society was characterized by its great variety of socio-economic forms.

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W. Ruben has dovoted much attention to the various stages of evolution of Indian history.[23] He acknowledges the great difficulties of this problem and the various possibilities for their solution. His view is that an ancient class society existed between primitive communal and feudal socio-economic formations in India, and that the first class society was a universal historical socio-economic formation existing between the primitive communal and antique or feudal ones. In his prior studies, Ruben uses the idea of an undeveloped slave owning society because of the existence of the śūdra helots (and the helot was for Ruben, at that time, a primitive form of slave). But he rejected the possibility that it could have been a variant of the slave-owning society of antique times. Ruben points to the influences of the ancient oriental class society on European feudalism. The historical evolution in India (the situation is complicated by the fact that on that subcontinent the various aspects of its evolution differed from each other) had two variants—the Indus Valley society and the Ganges society. India reveals an extreme form (in contrast to Europe) of formations, with very slowly increasing elements of the new, and long-lasting survivals of the old structure. This was connected with the stagnation of the Indian villages. The main contradiction in this type of socio-economic formation was that existing between the peasants (or communes) and the ruling class (the state), and not between slaves and slave-owners. The peasants could be likened to the despot's latent slaves (unlike the patriarchal slave who also existed in that society). The peasants were the main object of exploitation, which fact had as its foundation the despot's claim on the upper-property of land and water. This claim was, under the conditions of class struggle, more, or less real, or more or less legally established, or possibly disguised. In his explanation of the Mauryan period, Ruben asserts that taxes were similar to share rents; the state (despot) had the position of a rent-holder and was the upper-proprietor of the land and the peasant or sharecropper was the sub-proprietor (this is the reason for Megasthenes' assertion of the king's ownership of the land). But Indian jurists based their titles to taxes on the offices and services of the state and its administration. In the evolution of Ruben's conception (contrary to that of Iljin) slavery was of little importance for ancient Indian history.

The evolution of the ancient period and its stages were compared by V. N. Nikiforov.[24] He disagrees with the concept of Medvedev and agrees with that of Bongard-Levin and Iljin. Opposing the narrow conception of slavery, he distinguishes between two forms of slave. Helots, semi-slaves and labourers developing into slaves, and the slaves were the fundamental exploit-

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ed class. Nikiforov does not agree with the idea that tax rent was necessarily the main form of exploitation.

In a study on D. D. Kosambi, D. N. Jha[25] adduces his opinion concerning the significance of slavery in comparison with the source material; he denotes the statistical question of the amount of slave productive activities and the problem of the relations of the śūdras and slaves to their masters. "Unless these questions are adequately answered, Kosambi's total denial of the existence of slavery (which is inaccurate for Kosambi) in ancient India may not be acceptable."

The question of slavery and feudalism as characteristics of certain stages in Indian history form a part of the problem of the periodization of world history. Especially since 1957, a great discussion has arisen on Marxist historiography, concerning pre-capitalist socio-economic formations. This debate cannot obviously be explained herein. However, it is useful to refer to the above-mentioned book by Nikiforov, which summarizes these polemics, as well as the problems, various opinions and tendencies toward a solution put forward during the course of them.

Two main tendencies have been expressed in this discussion—one which refutes the existence of a slave-owning socio-economic formation in the Orient; the other supporting the existing of this stage in the countries of the Orient as well, but which draws from recent historiographical works (e. g. a clearer idea of the slaves as such, the meaning of village communities etc.) Nikiforov opposes an over simplified understanding of a slave-owning society as a society in which the majority of the working people were completely divorced from the means of production and were actually kept in the condition of convicts. "Most of the working people were not slaves, but belonged to different categories of bondsmen and freemen."[26] This idea of a slave-owning society differs from that of most of its opponents.

How can we characterize D. D. Kosambi's attitude to the problems of socio-economic formations, and especially to the slave-owning, feudal or Asiatic mode of production ? A negative attitude toward the possible existence of slavery is omnipresent in his works. However, after a detailed examination of his statements, we must admit that his rejections concern mainly the Greek and Roman forms of slavery. "It will be shown that India had never a classical slave economy in the same sense as Greece or Rome. The die-hard argument that some people were not free, there was some sort of slavery, is not to the point here. The issue is of quantity which by massive change transforms

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quality, too."[27] As has been said above, in recent historiography the conception of slavery has become clearer and the characteristics of a slave in India appear to be very different from those of the slaves of Greece and Rome. Taking this fact in account, we cannot consider Kosambi's rejection of the existence of slave-owning society in India as being as absolute as it might appear.

And what is his opinion concerning the Asiatic mode of production ? In his study "Stages of Indian History" he quotes Marx, Engels and Stalin. Stalin's omission of the Asiatic mode seems to him neither correct nor trivial.[28] Kosambi asserts that the key question is what is meant by the Asiatic mode of production, which mode was never clearly defined by Marx. Kosambi wishes to inquire into the difference between the history of India and that of other countries. The Indian form of society is characterized by the strong grip of religion without an organized church and by the absence of a slave-holding economy in the same sense as that of Greece and Rome, as well as by the caste system. Kosambi comes to the conclusion that India showed a series of parallel forms which cannot be placed in precise categories, for the mode based on slavery is absent and its type of feudalism is very different from the European type with its serfdom and manorial economy.

In the new conception of slavery the helot is sometimes considered as a sort of slave. Kosambi explains the role of the śūdra as that of helots. Can we conclude with the opinion that, in this sense, Kosambi's idea of ancient Indian society could be said to be that of slavery ? The question does not seem to be so simple. Some characteristics have emerged recently that Kosambi would hardly accept, e.g. the idea of the slave, as put forth by Yu. V. Kachanovskij.[29] According to the latter's conception the exploiting class appropriates not only the surplus product, but also a part of the necessary product and the labour force is used in a plundering way. The super-exploitation of slaves (of a part of the neccessary product) can be discerned in historical sources by a high level of mortality and the difficulty or impossibility of a real reproduction of the labour force.

Nikiforov asserts that "in ancient society, the Orient included, the leading tendency was not to grant land to the immediate producer but, on the contrary, to separate him from the land."[30] But as we have seen in the explanation of Kosambi's ideas on the characteristics of the Mauryan state, this author sees the main role of this state in the settling of new areas (state *sītā* lands) by the śūdras as a substitute for the existence of a production based on slave labour. (This is not a feudal mode, because the greatest role is played by

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the state, not by the individual feudals.) Nikiforov argues that in order to acknowledge a certain system as the leading one, it is sufficient for it to have yielded the principal share of the surplus product appropriated by the ruling class and to have supplied the surplus product, thereby ensuring the functioning of the decisive sectors of the social system. Once again—as different to this view on slavery—Kosambi's explanation must be underlined concerning the importance of the new śūdra villages in Mauryan times for acquiring a surplus product.

It can be said that the two main stages of the evolution of ancient society (with the second stage beginning during the first centuries A.D., according to Nikiforov) can be found, on the whole in Kosambi's books. The emphasis placed by Nikiforov on the role of the great religions in the preparation of new social systems (especially Buddhism) would meet with Kosambi's approval.

In Kosambi's conception, the idea of the progressiveness of the slave-owning formation and the polarization of this society is lacking. As we have tried to indicate, there is no doubt that the main assertions of D.D. Kosambi differ from those of the orientation of Marxist scientists which upholds the predominance of a slave-owning society between the periods of the primitive communal society and feudalism; however this difference is not nearly so great as might be concluded from Kosambi's clearly expressed refutation of the importance of slavery for Indian history. On the other hand, Kosambi also does not espouse the second orientation comprising the idea of an Asiatic mode of production or "eternal" feudalism. Kosambi has no general term for the class formation existing between the primitive communal and feudal formations. It could be inferred from this fact that the problem had not been wholly solved for him. In this connection we may quote Bongard-Levin.[31] The problem of the social structure of ancient India is rather complicated and requires further investigation and analysis of additional sources and materials. Each aspect of this general problem should be viewed in direct connection with another. Only by studying society as a whole can one trace principal trends and processes of its development."

The importance of D. D. Kosambi lies in his explanation of the components of the social and economic evolution and of the factors that influenced the class structure and dynamics of ancient Indian society and not in his classification of this society. Referring to this aspect, D.N. Jha writes.[32] "His conclusions remain a set of valuable hypotheses which future researchers will do well to test in the light of data available through diversification of sources. The writings

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of Kosambi give evidence of his superb mind and throw up on every page some fresh and stimulating idea."

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THE EARLY MEGALITHS IN POONA AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD*

R.C. GAUR

The purpose of the present paper is to discuss a new series of megaliths identified by the late Proffessor Kosambi in the district of Poona and its neighbourhood. The archaeologists considered these megaliths to be the natural piles of boulders and hence did not give any serious attention to them. Unless they are carefully examined, they may be lost in the process of rapid and extensive quarrying for the building material. The megalithic remains in Maharashtra generally seem to be erratic and sporadic. They are concentrated in the Vidarbha region, and the rest of the state appears devoid of large-scale remains.

However, the explorations of Proffessor Kosambi in the Poona region are quite significant. He noticed clear distinction between the early microliths found on the lowland track and those found on the highland terraces of the Poona plateau. The terraces seem to have developed out of the tracks made by the cattle which normally graze along the contour. The highland microliths generally are 'somewhat larger, usually of triangular cross-section, hence thicker and with less facets than is the case with the superbly made, delicate lowland blades'.[1] It does not mean that the highlanders did not know the refined technique, but they seem to have made the tools cruder deliberately to deal with the heavier material, presumably cattle hide and wood. The users of these cruder microliths probably were the authors of the typical megaliths under reference.

These megaliths generally though not necessarily are cross-road cult-sites. The Poona highlanders were associated one time with megaliths, as is clear from the grooves characteristic of these megaliths, found on the boulders atop the Law College plateau extending up to the *Great Vetāl*. About 1000 metres to the west a few remnants of smashed megalith is also traceable.[2] The *Kotharūd-Pāsān* hill-top *Mhātobā* also once formed part of the megaliths.

* The author wishes to pay his homage to the memory of the late Professor D D. Kosambi, with whom he had the privilage of undertaking field explorations in July and August 1965 in the district of Poona. The present paper incorporates Kosambi's many ideas.

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The cairns found on soft soil may represent a mecropolis.[3] The range of the megalithic remains can be traced at least up to *Pābal*, 64 kms. north of Poona, but their density is very low. However, the *Theūr-Khāmgāo* region on the south bank of the Mūlā, where over 100 megaliths have been located, is the centre of this culture. But the megaliths can be followed down-river to the tri-junction of Poona, Sholapur and Ahmadnagar districts at the village of *Khānotā*.[4] Here the boulder-piles seem smaller than up-river. It is very difficult to determine the chronological relation of the megaliths found in the *Mūlā-Bhīmā* lowland with those found on the highlands such as the *Karhā* valley which is actually a plateau; the latter is at least 120 metres higher than the former. It is likely that in the case of lower rainfall the people might have migrated along the low valley. In addition to these places Dr. Sankalia had already reported certain megalithic monuments at Bhosari, about 13½ kms. north of Poona.[5] Later Proffessor Kosambi also located a new type of megaliths about a kilometre outside the village.

Some important sites[6] of the new series are :

1.	Khāmgāo : 38½ kms.	from Poona on Poona-Sholapur road and then 5 kms. to left. Here the 'Sheleke Megalith' is popularly known as Goda-Modī.
2.	Daulgāo-Gādā :	Towards the west of the crossing of the Panshet canal and the river is Varvand Māndhrāi megalith.
3.	Bolhāī :	25½ kms. from Poona and Ahmadnagar road.
4.	Nāyagāo (east and Bāpūji Bābā) :	22½ kms. from Poona between the Sholapur road and the river Mūlā. (*plate III*).
5.	Thēur	Both are situated on south-bank of Mūlā river.
6.	Koregāo-Mul	along Koregāo-mūlā and Chorachi-Alandi route

Although the site choosen as a rule for a megalith is a natural crop-out, many of the boulders have often been shifted into position from some distance. Since these funerary monuments are of undressed boulders and assembled in a cruder fashion, at first glance they may appear to be natural and not artificial. Really they lie almost in the east and west alignment and are homogeneous. The crude microliths lie scattered in large numbers generally towards the east of the megaliths. Majority of these monuments represent dolmen, and the best examples come from *Varvaṇḍ* and *Nayagāo Satvāī*. The latter is an important site where a big rectangular stone is placed on the top of two other pieces to make a nitch. In other words the boulders on the ground

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surface are arranged in such a way that the cap-stone encloses the space below it, in contrast to this, several boulders are arranged below the cap-stone at Varvaṇḍ, and they look like a cairn. Seen minutely the dolmenoid cist at *Varvaṇḍ* seems a prototype of D2 monument at Sankarapuram near Kanjeepuram, Chingleput district;[7] sometimes these dolmens are also enclosed by a boulder circle.

Dolmen-like buildings are even now constructed in Maharashtra often as funerary monument.[8] In Marathi such a pile or cairn is called *Khila* and Varvaṇḍ in the Konkan and simply Varvaṇḍ in the region under reference. It is quite possible that the village owed its present name to the old tradition of monumental piles. Varvaṇḍ, which is situated on an imposing place, is still a place of worship, and many of its boulders bear marks of single or double ovals, cups, etc.

The second type of pile encountered in this region is in the form of cairns. Of these the Theūr-Mhasobā megalith is worth mentioning. Here the boulders of different sizes, are heaped up over a mound which is almost circular in plan; We may call it a barrow-cairn.

Quite different from these and perhaps earlier in date is the evidence from a site known as Bolhā's kitchen,[10] also known as Ghāṭ-Shilā. This place has a horizontal basalt slab measuring roughly 2.00 × 1.21 metres with an average thickness of 62 cms. The arched cavity in the upper stone (cap-stone) of the slab must have been made with great pain. Kosambi considers it to be a small-scale predecessor of the Buddhist stūpa. The *Ghāṭ-Shilā* serves as a relic womb or *dhātugarbha*, generally used for *stūpa* which has a reliquary concealed somewhere in the face of the dome.[11]

The significant parts of this monument are its cup-marks,[12] which are also reported from Junapani[13] and other parts of India. Generally these cups are associated with a ball-like pestle and stone ball have been found along with other grave-goods in many megaliths. All these features indicate that this structure was used for funerary purposes.

Although we are not certain that Bolhāi-Kitchen is associated with the dead, several dozen piles of tumuli of large basalt rocks lie on the south bank of the Mūlā on Koregāo-Mūl and Chorāchī-Alandī trade route, and the deity Bolehāī is popular throughout this region.

Many of these megalithic piles have a big stone circle-oval or irregular in plan-covering a wide area built of juxtaposed stones. They demonstrate the sanctity of the place for commemoration. Almost similar circles[14] were also

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reported along with smaller rounded circles from Bhosari looking polygonal with about 65 ft. (= 19.73 metres) diagonal; on the other hand at Junapani[15] a double circle though smaller of untrimmed boulders was found.

The most striking characteristic of these megaliths has been their engraving. Where the megalithic piles do not exist *in situ* or have been smashed, they may be recognised by these marks on the exposed basalt bed-rock. The grooves do not exist on several stones and are not to be confused with the basalt 'bombs' which are often seen in the Deccan rocks. The latter are generally hard egg-shaped cores of basalt surrounded by many crumbling layers of soft rocks; weathering gives the whole 'bomb' a curious resembelance to the engraved oval, though the latter do not have the softer layers; on the contrary they have wider, deeper, and smoother grooves in the place of the narrow inter-strata lines. The 'bombs' may have supplied the models for primitive megalith-builders' marks.[16]

The deep engraved designs on these megalithic boulders generally include the following forms:

1. Circles : A large number of concentric circles are found on these monuments. They were generally engraved around a chalcedony nodule embedded in the basaltic trap, to which the megalithic builders seem to have attached some special importance. Sometimes these circles were left incomplete, as can be seen on the northern face of the top-stone at Bolhāi. In a few cases only lines have been drawn. A few grooves of the two latter types might have been used for sharpening or polishing the fractured nodules or microliths, for it has been assumed that the implements of the neolithic settlements were 'polished on gneiss rocks exhibiting grooves 10 to 14 inches long and about two inches deep'. However the engraved circle up to a diameter of 2ft. and 8 inches (= 81 cms.) have been found on the rock. Another popular type of engraving is in the form of oval shaped double circle, perhaps representing a *yoni*. A unique depiction of this type is seen at Bāpūjī Bābā, where the engraving exactly looks like a present day *yoni*-socket in which the phallic emblem of Śiva is fixed. In order to represent the *yoni* sometimes circles have been drawn around a cleavage, either man made or natural.

2. Crude figurines : The second set of engravings include the crude depiction of female and animal heads in outlines only. The former types

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were noted at Vetāl Hill[17] near Poona as well as at Bāpūjī Bābā. At the latter site the female figurine[18] has plaits of hair falling on either side of the face.

The animal depiction in oblong form seems to be a buffalo head. The better examples came from Nāyagāo and Theūr. At Theūr the grooves are prominent, and the big rock piece may be treated as the robust body of the animal. Similar depictions are available in Raichur district and elsewhere to the south-east. The engraved female figures may represent some mother goddess, and the buffalo figure a popular deity commonly known as *Mhasobā*, perhaps a corrupt form of *Mahiśa*. His name reminds us of the *Purāṇic* legend according to which *Mahishāsura*, a powerfull demon, was killed by the goddess Durgā. Another popular deity of the region seems to be *Ghedobā* or *Khandobā*, still worshipped at Bhosari megaliths.

The cup marks constitute another important feature of the megaliths. The Bolhāī-cups have already been referred to. However, the longest oblong cut was seen at Nāyagāo measuring 2 ft. 10 inches × 2 ft. (= 86 cms. × 60 cms.). The larger cups are called *sāluṅkhā* in Marathi, a term which also designates the *yoni* socket in which the phallic emblem of Śiva is fixed.[19] Kosambi thinks that the *liṅga* may have developed out of the pestle-stone rolled about in the cup, and the original stone may have been the homologue of a foetus rather than of the phallus. Some cups have been grooved in such a way that the ball is not seperated from it and remains fixed.

Although these structures seem to be funerary monuments, their exact nature cannot be determined unless a few of them are properly excavated. In many cases we may not find dead relics underneath the surface, for these monuments have been piled on hard and solid basalt rock-bed. However, in those cases where the ground is softer or the pile is in the form of a cairn, the chances of burial are better. It may be noted that the megaliths are generally the burials of a secondary nature. After death, the body was left exposed for a considerable length of time, and subsequently the available bones, salvaged from the feasts of beasts and birds, were interred alongwith the other objects in the megalithic tomb. In some cases the commemorative monuments were raised even without the bones. For example at Brahmagiri[20] in Megalith II no bone was found in the pits; similarly at Sanur bones were not present in two of the excavated megaliths. It is noteworthy that in the Megalith III and IV at Sanur, which are actually dolmenoid cist, the circles did not contain a single fragment of bone. Likewise except the remains of a crushed pot no other finds

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have been reported from Megalith II at Junapani. Even at Nagarjuna-konda, where fifteen megaliths were opened at site 63, only nine could yield skeletal remains. The remaining six either had only splinters of bone or no bones at all.

Since the skeletal remains do not appear to be calcined in most cases, there was possibly no primary burning of the body even in the later days of the megaliths. But post-cremation burial was also practised. In such cases either the bones and ashes were collected in the urns and then buried, as probably referred to in the *Śatapatha Brāhamaṇa*[21], or the calcined bones, which remained over after cremation, were ground to powder and cast off or sprinkled, as is still done in the Punjab.[22]

Unfortunately no serious effort has so far been made to verify and determine the character of the megalithic remains in the north. However, Cunningham[23] had discovered a large number of cairns and other megalithic remains in the different parts of Rajasthan, particularly near Deosa[24] about 32 miles away from Jaipur and at Machari[25] 22 miles south from Alwar. Similarly at Kher village, about 4 miles away from Fatehpur Sikri, he located at least seven cairns.[26] But at Satmas,[27] about two miles to the north-east of Jagner, as many as thirty cairns were located by him. The local inhabitants considered those cairns to be the spots where certain individuals belonging to a marriage party were killed in bygone times either by a band of robbers or some enemies. According to one version the cairns were raised to mark the spots where those people fell. According to the others, after this massacare every person passing that way threw a stone on each spot where the mouldering remains of the dead bodies lay, and ultimately these were turned into heaps of cairns in due course. Almost similar custom prevailed among the ancient Celtic people of the highlands of Scotland.

Curiously enough an almost similar story is also narrated at Khāmgāo in Poona district. 'This locality is called 'Gāḍe-Moḍī' after the legendary disappearance of a whole wedding party, bride, bridegroom, company and the bullock carts into the ground.'[28] Such stories connected with the megalithic sites may suggest human burials of some type.

Colonel Todd[29] also recorded the tradition of the cairn building by some Rajputs as well as the Minas. According to Sir John Malcolm[30] the Bhils also raised cairns in the memory of their dead chiefs. They poured oil on the top of these monuments and coated them with red lead afterwards. This reminds us of the fact that some megaliths are still worshipped in Maharashtra under the name of some local god and are often coated with oil and vermilion.

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The foregoing discussion proves that the megaliths are indeed a crude form of the stūpa; containing the earthly remains of the dead, they stand at once as commemorative and reverential object, the construction of which was the joint responsibility of the whole community.[31] It has been clearly stated in the early Buddhist texts[32] that the *stūpas* were built to provide peace of mind which enabled the people to obtain heaven. The *stūpas*, bigger as well as miniature, do suggest that originally they were meant to perpetuate the name of the dead and to pay respect to the departed soul.

Different types of megaliths have been reported from almost all parts of India right from Kashmir and the border land of Laddakh to the Malabar coast and from Assam to Baluchistan. All these facts prove that the megalithic remains can neither be the product of one people nor can they belong to any particular period of Indian history.

However, a dolmenoid cist type of megalithic-Neolithic phase (period II) has been dated at Hallur in district Dharwar from 1005 to 1105 B.C. by C-14 method.[33] In this period well developed iron tools and Black-and-Red Ware have been found together. It pushes back the megalithic tradition in India to greater antiquity. The close affinities of the pottery from the burials at Bahal and the pottery below the cist at Brahmagiri show a definite pre-iron burial in central India with the same pottery.[34] Fürer Haimendorf[35] wants to associate the South Indian megaliths with those found in the Maditerranean region. If this is acceptable, the Indian megaliths will be easily pushed at least to the 2nd millennium B.C.

The megaliths of Maharashtra perhaps are still older. So far no pottery has been found with these monuments, but mere absence of pottery need not necessarily mean that the monument belongs to the pre-pottery age. At present the only source for dating can be the scattered microliths near these monuments. The existence of pre-pottery microlithic culture has been reported by Fairservice[36] at Kilc-Gul Mohammad in Baluchistan. Here the first two phases are without pottery those with pottery have been placed in the early fourth millennium B.C. Similarly Birbhanpur[37] industry was also dated about the 4th millennium B.C. The earlier microlithic industry continued for a considerable period, as is proved by their discovery at most sites in central and western India; ultimately it got merged into the immigrating industry of the chalcolithic-neolithic phase. The date of the evolution must go back probably to 2000 B.C.[38] It is known that microliths occur in a chalcolithic context in the first and second millennium B.C. at Brahmagiri[39], Maski[40], Maheshwar[41]

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and Nasik.[42] In this context the new series of megaliths discovered in Maharashtra, pending their excavation may be placed tentatively anywhere between the 4th and the 2nd millennium B.C.

Whatever be the date of these monuments, the piling of the boulders for the megaliths indicate the sustained heavy labour of many people working together at one time. This implies less wandering and a fair command of an assured food surplus. In spite of these facts, these people must have moved with their cattle as the "plough agriculture is to be excluded at this period. The soil is too heavy to be properly tilled before the iron age ... but the land was excellent for cattle grazing before agriculture."[43] Even today the Dhāngars remain only for four months of the monsoon in small units (*vādī*) of a dozen human beings possessing not more than 300 sheep. The *vādī* moves on after the rains, and may follow a drover's round of as much as 400 miles till the next monsoon sets in eight months later.[44]

Under these circumstances, it was not easy for the early megalithic people to collect the substantive remains of their dead in post-cremation stage. Hardly a small quantity of ashes or splinters of bone or both could have been collected and brought back in due course to their rainy camps where they would raise monuments over the scanty relics which were probably sprayed or kept in the form of heap below the monument. Numerous engraved symbols perhaps indicate the anxiety of the living to associate the dead with their favourite gods and beliefs.

For a better understanding of the newly discovered monuments it would be worthwhile to refer to Gordon Childe's comments[45] regarding the megaliths in general. According to him 'in practice the term is applied only to monuments the use of which is known imperfectly or not at all, but which we presume were created for some superstitious, ritual or religious end'. The megaliths were indeed multiple commemorative monuments probably not for a family but a clan as a whole. Even in fragmentary burials often more than one skull and the bones of more than one individual have been found buried together.

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SOME ASPECTS OF CORRUPTION IN EARLY INDIAN TRADE[1]

UPENDRA THAKUR

I

Like the modern tradesmen, the ancient Indian tradesmen also resorted to all kinds of corrupt practices to amass more and more wealth. Trade had become vitally connected with economic life of the society with the growth of urbanisation of Indus culture and it made a considerable progress in the proto-historic period. With the growing popularity of trade among the Vedic Āryans, a wealthy class of merchants, known as *Paṇi* came into existence, and haggling and other evil practices associated with day to day transactions for settling the prices and sale of the commodities became a common practice. The *Paṇis* as a class had become so unpopular due to their uncharitable profit-making nature that a sort of antagonism developed between them and the *Ṛishis* of the Ṛigvedic period who condemned them as "gready and selfish."[2] Their unbounded greed and niggardliness aroused the hostility of the priestly class to such an extent that the latter requested the gods to sieze their wealth and destroy them.[3]

We have numerous references in the *Ṛigveda* to indicate that the priestly class was not favourably disposed towards the *Paṇis* who were condemned right and left. In one verse we are told that Indra did not maintain any relationship with the greedy *Paṇis* and took away their wealth.[4] We are further told that the hostility between the priestly class and the *Paṇis* reached a climax when the latter "adopted uncommercial method of acquiring commodity and took away the cows of Aṅgiras",[5] the sage who was a ruthless critic of the *Paṇis*. The episode was given so much prominence that it has been referred to at many places in the *Ṛigveda*.[6] It is true that this state of hostility did not continue for long, but it shows how the trading class incurred the displeasure of the society because of their unbriddled lust for profit at the cost of the consumers in the early eras of Indian civilisation.

In the post-Vedic period trade and industry had almost come to be localised. We have references to the localised guilds of the traders and industrialists in the Jātakas and other literature of the period. Kautilya's scheme of city-planning also envisages settlement of merchants trading in different commodities in different sectors of the town such as north, south, east and

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west.[7] With tremendous rise in the volume of trade by sixth century B. C., organised and planned production and quick distribution became a necessity which could be fulfilled through efficient financing. This in term attracted the notice of the kings or State who regarded it as their sacred duty to provide capital to encourage production and its distribution. With the increase of governmental patronage, governmental interference in trade also increased and in order to avoid it the traders formed their own organisations (guilds), to finance them in times of need. This resulted in the rise of a class of big merchants known as *Seṭṭhis* who gradually controlled the finances of trade both individually as well as on partnership basis, giving rise to trade-monopoly in later days.[8]

II

The main feature of business transaction in early times in India was *kraya-vikraya*[9] (purchase and sale). As in modern times, so in those days the guilds and big partnerships were formed mainly by wholesale dealers whereas the daily transaction (retail trade) in different commodities was largely conducted by individual traders who had to depend entirely on the wholesale dealers or on their own small production for their commodities.

It is interesting to note that the ancient *Dharmasūtras* of Gautama, Āpastamba and Baudhāyana are silent about partnership or joint undertaking. Manu, however, lays down rules about the distribution of fees among the priests at a sacrifice and in one verse he remarks that the same principles are to be applied in all matters when men work conjointly, that is, each is to be paid according to the importance of volume of work he does.[10] While Manu extends the rule about the distribution of fees at a sacrifice to secular joint undertakings, Yājñavalkya[11] extends the general rules about the partnerships of traders to sacrificial priests, husbandsmen, craftsmen etc. This shows that the complicated sacrifices requiring a large number of priests had become rare in the days of Yājñavalkya (100-300 A D.), while partnership of traders and artisans had assumed great importance. In a partnership business or joint undertaking if any partner proved to be crooked or fraudulent, the rest could expel him without giving any profit.[12]

Banishment is prescribed by Yājñavalkya for one who embezzles the money of a corporation or transgresses the conventions agreed upon by a guild.[13]

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The retail traders were commonly known as *vaiya vṛitya*.[14] It seems that there was some sort of contract between the retail dealers and wholesale dealers of which commission or a share on profit was perhaps the main basis. Describing this contractual relationship Kauṭilya emphatically observes : "the retail dealers, selling the mercandise of others at prices prevailing at particular localities and a time, shall handover to the wholesale dealers as much of the sale proceeds and profit as realised by them. If owing to a distance in time or place, there occurs any fall in the value of merchandise, the retail dealers shall pay the value and profit at that rate which obtained when they received the merchandise."[15]

According to Pāṇini the main motive of a trader (usually described as *krayavikrayika* or *vaṇika* or *vaṇija*)[16] behind carrying business was profit (*lābha*) on the capital (*mūla*) invested by him.[17] It was this motive that prompted a trader since the Vedic times to derive as much profit as he could by any means.[18] The expression *vaṇigīva labdhālābhaḥ* used in the *Avadāna Śataka*[19] indicates that the greatest satisfaction of a trader was more and more profit. The tendency of profiteering at the cost of the consumers had grown so vicious that even the Buddha had to denounce this evil practice. According to him "too much profiteering is the root cause of destruction" (*bho vaṇija lābhnāmāṁ esa vināśamūlam*).[20] The practice had become so deep-rooted that the sellers, inspite of the price originally settled, tried to bargain more and more, although in such cases it was an established rule that no bargaining should be done once the price was settled.[21] But, it seems that this rule was observed more in its breach than in observance.

A study of the Smṛiti literature as well as the Jātakas makes it clear that the traders usually resorted to the practice of haggling to settle the prices of different commodities.[22] A sage in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* observes that the traders first bargain, and afterwards come to terms, with the result that the people have to bargain and then come to terms for every thing that is for sale.[23] The *Jātaka* stories abound in references to this practice of haggling to determine the price of a particular commodity, which sometimes varied from one *Kahāpaṇa* to 100 or 1000 *Kahāpaṇas*. The *Kāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*[24] also refers to haggling over the price of Soma (a popular Vedic drink). This evil practice very often led to physical clashes between the sellers and the customers,[35] though it was not always favoured by wise traders who regarded it as a killing business.[26]

This practice of a "free bargain unregulated by law and custom" was widely prevalent up to the beginning of the sixth century B. C. "The act of

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exchange between producer or dealer, and consumer was, both before and during the Jātaka age, a 'free' bargain, a transaction unregulated by the system of statute-fixed prices. Supply, limited by slow transport and individualistic production, but left free and stimulated, under the latter system, to efforts after excellence on the one hand and tricks of adulteration on the other sought to equate with a demand which was no doubt largely compact of customary usage and relatively unaffected by the swifter fluctuations termed.[27]

Notwithstanding the fact that both the traders and consumers realised the advantages of fixed prices and disliked haggling, the traders endeavoured consistently to raise the prices of the commodities on some pretext or other to make profit since the early days. The practice, however, expressed itself through extra-ordinary shapes by the Mauryan period as is clear from the *Arthaśāstra.*[28] The tendency to hoard and profiteer had grown so rampant among the trading community that Kauṭilya had to prescribe fines for every such act, which was to be determined by the Superintendents of the Departments concerned, appointed by the State.[29] From a perusal of the different categories of fines prescribed by him it is clear that every sphere of trade in his days was vitiated due to the excessive profiteering motive on the part of the traders[30], who united "in causing rise and fall in the value of articles and live by making cent percent profit in *paṇas* or *Kumbhas*".[31] Like the modern day trading community, the traders in those days also manoeuvred to prevent the sale of their commodities in order to sell them at higher prices. Kauṭilya prescribed a fine of 1000 paṇas for such fraudulent traders.[32] Yājñavalkya has also recommended the highest punishment for those traders who indulge in such obnoxious practices to the great detriment of the labourers and artisans.[33]

The monster of monopoly and hoarding was yet another evil which sometimes played hell with the life of the consumers because a single trader through hoarding or monopoly on sale could easily manipulate to enhance the price of a particular commodity.[34] From the *Chullaseṭṭhi Jātaka* we learn that a trader once imposed restriction on small grass-sellers that they would not sell their grass until his own grass was sold and thereby he earned 1000 Kārshāpaṇas as price on 500 bundles of grass.[35] This single instance is enough to show that the monopolists in those days were no different from their counterparts in the present day who by their unscrupulous behaviour could hold the life of the nation to ransom. We have many such references in the *Jātakas* as well as the contemporary literature. It is, however, remarkable to note that while hoarding and profiteering was treated as a great crime in the case of individual

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traders and monopolists, the same is recommended far State-trading by Kauṭilya[36] in the larger interest of the State and the consumers.

From the above it is clear that with growing commercialisation new economic factors arose to set the legal price at naught, and against the big business and monopoly concerns the royal statute was practically of little avail. The maxim : "the sale or purchase should be conducted at the price which is fixed by the king, the surplus made therefrom is understood to be the legal profit of traders" lost all its force in the given context as the well-meaning efforts of the State were lost upon the designing merchants. This is further proved by the fact that the State itself fell in line with the same tactics when as owner and controller of vast state manufacturers it cornered the goods and raised prices by artificial means to increase the profit. The State also took freely the advantage of the rise in prices of its merchandise due to bidding among buyers.[37]

III

Adulteration of articles of various kinds was yet another evil practice indulged in by traders in ancient India. It was regarded as a great offence punishable by law. From the *Jātaka* stories it is clear that adultration was condemned by all sections of the society and it was popularly believed that the traders who sold grains mixed with chaff went to *tantalus* hell.[38] Thus, in most of the *Smṛiti* texts and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, numerous types of adulteration have been mentioned and the king is advised to inflict heavy punishment on the adulterators. Yājñavalkya refers to adulteration in such commodities as butter, salt, scent, rice and mollases. It is, however, interesting to note that, even medicine was not spared by these social criminals. Moreover, commodities like timber, cloth, jewels and other things of daily use were also adulterated by the traders to make more profit. Yājañvalkya while denouncing these anti-social elements recommends heavy fine for them who carry on fraudulent business by wrong measurement or adulteration or by charging more, and the rate of fine should vary according to the type of merchandise, its cost and the particular situation.[39] While he recommends 16 *paṇas* as fine for the adulteration of butter, salt, rice etc., he prescribes a fine eight times that of the original price of things such as gem, yarn, cloth, jewels etc.[40] Moreover, a man selling artificial things as real ones must be fined heavily for his fraudulent behaviour.[41] Manu[42] also indirectly refers to the practice of adulteration when he condemns the traders resorting to this practice. The author of the *Vishṇusmṛiti*[43]

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prescribes heavier punishment (*uttama-sahaśa-daṇḍa*, i. e., a fine of 1000 *paṇas*) for such adulterators. According to Nārada and Bṛihaspati, a merchant found guilty of adulteration, or of selling old articles as new after repairing them, must give the double quantity to the purchaser and pay a fine equal in amount to the value of the articles.[44] Similarly, if a trader sold inferior articles as superior ones, articles of some other localities as local produce, adulterated things, or decietful mixture; or dexterously substituted other articles as those already sold, he was to be fined not only 54 *paṇas* but was also compelled to make good the loss.[45] Bṛihaspati further declares that what has been sold by an intoxicated or insane person, or at a very low price, or under the impulse of fear, or by one, not his own master, or by an idiot, shall be relinquished by the purchaser and if he refuses to give it, it may be recovered from the purchaser forcibly.[46]

As noted above, Kauṭilya refers to the adulteration of rice, oil, alkali, salt, scent and medicine etc. and declares that adulteration of these and other such "articles of no quality shall be punished with a fine of 12 *paṇas*,"[47] instead of sixteen as prescribed by Yājñavalkya, although for adulteration in commodities such as timber, iron, precious stone, rope, skin, earthenware, thread, fibrous garment and woolen cloth he prescribes a fine 8 times the value of the articles sold.

The conception of contraband goods was also not known in those days. We have a long list of forbidden goods in the *Arthaśāstra*[48] and Kauṭilya recommends severe punishment to those traders who indulged in the sale of such goods. This is also confirmed by the accounts of Megasthenes who says that the main duty of the fifth body of the Mauryan municipal administration was to strictly supervise manufactured goods and sell them by public notice. The new articles were always sold separately from the old ones, and if a mixture of the two was detected, the defaulter was heavily fined.[49]

IV

Besides adulteration and fraudulent practices, falsification of weights and measures was yet another evil that infested the entire trading community in early days.

Dishonest dealings ran rampant in the market and false scales, false weights and false measures were the most convenient methods. "The glorious days are worth yearning for when merchants did not sell articles with false weights and measures, a practice characteristic of the damned Kali age."[50]

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Tulākūṭa and mānakuṭa are in the list of disapproved methods as enumerated by the ancient law-givers. Gautama abstains from cheating with *tulā, kaṁśa* and *māna*, i. e., with scales, coins and measures. The *Śukranīti* presents the following comprehensive list—"Deceit by means of false weights and measures, false and counterfeit coins, unscientific medical extracts and other preprations, passing off base metals for genuine and high class things and food adulteration, all these channels of dishonest transactions are to be checked" (I.590-92). The class of merchants who lead in these underhand methods are the goldsmiths adopting false balances (*tulā vishama*), removal (*apasaraṇa*), dropping (*viśravaṇa*), folding (*peṭaka*) and confounding (*piṅka*) with several ingenious tricks described in detail in the *Arthaśāstra* (BK. II. 14).

The practice had become so rampant that the State had to step into control unfair business dealing by checking the use of false weights and measures[51], which were in use since the days of the Indus civilisation although in point of accuracy, the Indus weight-system is reported by scholars as most remarkable in which there was very little scope for error.[52] The popular name for balance in early times was *tulā*[53], though this word does not occur in the *Ṛigveda*. A perusal of the Vedic literature, however, suggests the existence of a system or weights[54], but nothing is known about its use and significance. The *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā*[55] for the first time refers to the use of *tulā*, and by the time of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[56] the use of balances had become so common that people laid much reliance on its propriety and correctness. It gradually came to be regarded as a part of the machinery of justice and was included in trials by ordeal (*divyapramāṇa*). Describing weights as essential household effects, Vasishṭha advises the kings to maintain their accuracy at all costs.[57] Similarly Manu, Yājñavalkya, Āpastamba, and Kauṭilya regard the falsification of weights and measures as a social crime and warn the state to take special care to safeguard its accuracy.[58] The Mauryan State was so particular about it that special officers like *Pautavādhyaksha* and *Saṅsthādhyaksha* were appointed to examine weights and measures periodically, say after every four to six months.[59] Āpastamba goes so far as to prescribe social boycott for a person using false balances (*kūṭa-tulā*) by barring him from the *śrāddha* ceremonies.[60] Even the Buddha and Nāgasena condemn such persons who make profit by cheating through false weights and balances (*mithyā ājīva*).[61] While Manu suggests that balances should be checked after every six months, Yājñavalkya declares that no mercy should be shown to such culprits and that they should be fined heavily for making (*kūṭakṛita*) and using (*vyayahāra*) false balances.[62]

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There could not be any cleaner proof of straying into unfair business than the heavy fines imposed by statesmen and lawgivers and the damnation of Kali or threat of perdition held out before the public to those who stood for ethical values even in the pursuits of gain. It is because of the widespread anarchy that Manu had to confess that pursuits of trafficking and usury are by themselves a mixture of truth and falsehood *(sātyānṛita)*. Traces of order were, however, emerging here and there and every market seems to have its standard weights and measures as can be noticed from the current lists of names "though they fluctuated place to place and time to time introducing an element of chaos in *inter-janapada* commerce."[63]

Though every care was taken to maintain the accuracy of weights, possibility of some error was always there to avoid which measures were taken by the State.[64] Kauṭilya enumerates sixteen types of balances of which ten varieties were of light balances with double scale-pans,[65] while heavy balances were of six types.[66] We have, however, no details as regards the construction and use of these different balances. From the *Mahā-nārada Kassapa Jātaka*[67] we learn that there was a weighing house, where weights were added gradually, one by one on the weighing scale and when the weights were placed, the end of the balance swang-up. As we know from Yājñavalkya, sometimes a line was drawn on the wall of the weighing house to ensure accuracy in weight, and when the weights and the articles to be weighed were on a level with the mark made on the wall at the weighing house, it was supposed that the weighing was complete and correct.[68]

In the Kauṭilyan State, the use of correct weights and measures was a legal necessity and hence stamping by royal authority testifying to the use of authentic weights and measures was essential. For this the traders had to pay one *kākanī* to the Superintendent towards the charge of stamping weights and measures. And, thus only the authanticated weights and measures and balances could be in use, bearing the stamp of the government, and in every transaction this stamp acted as a guarantee that there was no false statement or declaration.[69] However, the system of rigidly adhering to weights and measures was relaxed in certain exceptional cases by the State for the sale of such commodities as clarified butter, oil etc. by way of affording the purchaser a lawful protection against the depreciatory trend in the weight of these and other specified classes of commodities, which are likely to suffer wear and tear, when kept in stock. The private sector, however, was not admitted to the same relief though the economic necessity might be common.[70]

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In matters of economy Kauṭilya had a fine sense of justice and he regarded the unrestricted or uncontrolled raising of prices on the part of merchants and labourers as going against all principles of justice. He, therefore, wanted to have a reasonable regulation in the larger interest of all classes. He believed in just price, just profit and just remuneration. The fair-price idea is indissolubly bound up with the necessity of strictly adhering to the use of correct weights and measures and separating inferior types of a commodity from the superior ones as well as the collection of the duty according to prescribed rates.[71] A just price, therefore, is regarded to be one meaning a price which is not unusually or exclusively considerate to the consuming class or callous to the interest of the State and the trader concerned in any worthwhile transaction. Thus, the concept of just price or the system of price-fixation, true to conditions actually prevailing in the market, gave protection in varying degrees to all interests concerned even under strained circumstances. A capricious price is not proper or just price. Artificial inflation, engineered by profiteers, such as cornering by a sort of cartel, or bidding over the declared price, with a view to its enhancement[72], was not allowed by Kauṭilya. If the bidders competed to increase price it was the State that got all the benefit of the enhanced price, and not the trader.[73]

It was the Mauryan state which appears to have made remarkable achivement in fixing market prices. According to Strabo prices were regulated by municipal bodies.[74] The Court-valuer (*agghakaraka* or *agghapoṇika)* appointed by the State acted as *liason* officer between the king and the seller, and purchased commodities for the palace and the royal treasury.[75] Whatever price he fixed for a certain commodity was liable to revision only by the king.[76] But though generally honest[77] this officer also sometimes resorted to the deceitful practice of undervaluation causing serious loss to the traders.[78] His office "was gradually transformed in to that of a price-expert and then in to a ministry or board of price controllers for the whole market."[79] But, while the court-valuers were the State officials, the price-experts (*sarvapaṇyavichakshaṇa*)[80] were mostly the employees of private traders or independent valuers working on commission and they were responsible for fixing the customary rates and statutory prices.[81] Manu,[82] Yājñavalkya[83] and other lawgivers have emphasised the need for price-fixation and have justified king's power to control the market-rates.

Kauṭilya has also emphasised that the state should fix the prices of all kinds of commodities in order to curb the tendency of the traders to make

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illegal profit.[84] According to him, the dealers should be allowed to derive a profit of five percent above the fixed prices of local produce and ten percent on foreign goods.[85] It was a crime to raise the prices or to realise more profit. Raising of prices or realising profit, even to the extent of 1/2 *paṇa* above the permitted one, was liable to a fine of five *paṇas* in the former case, and of 100 to 200 *paṇas* in the latter.[86] The *Daśakumāracharita*[87] states that the Mauryans conferred a boon on traders that for certain offences they were not to be sentenced to death, but were to be deprived of all their wealth and banished. This principle of fixing the rate of profit on local and foreign goods has also been recommended by Yājañavalkya[88], which continued to be adopted by the Indian kings till the early-mediaeval period.[89]

Thus, "the mechanism of trade in Kauṭilya", as rightly suggested by B.C. Sen, "is manifestly sensitive to the behaviour of those who play a vital role in private sector".[90] The entire horizon is overcast with clouds of suspicion, and behind all the rules and regulations can be seen "the penetrating eye of an observer who knows how in so many ways a dishonest trader can defraud the State of its legitimate dues, and create conditions unfavourable to consumers and producers, and unhelpful to stable economy, which, in Kauṭilya, is armed against corrupt practices such as smuggling, underrating, underwriting, over-rating, non use of authentic seals, submitting false declarations about imported merchandise, evasion of *śulka* in the custom house, cornering or attempting to reduce or enhance prices, not giving the artisan or manufacturer the proper value of his product etc."[91] There is thus no lack of provision for the punishment of every kind of offence in the Kautilyan system, but it is doubtful if it was possible to detect all kind of offences and to root out the evils rampant at every stage of business with the help merely of penal provisions. When dishonest practices are so common a feature in private trade it is difficult to feel assured of the incorruptibility of the public sector. The rules against dishonesty are no doubt very severe and the detective method applied of a searching and unsparing type, but then the possibility of undue harassment is there which, however, may act as a deterrent to the undue expansion of private trade.[92]

From the above it would be seen that the Kautilyan State plays well the part of the scheming cartel. The transition from free bargain to cornering and price-inflation accompanied the growth of large industries and business in the commercial cities, which kept customers at their mercy. And, since the old law still prevailed that a price once fixed holds good, fair or unfair, that a

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transaction cannot be revoked[93] it weighed more heavily on the customer than the seller."[94] The only saving grace was that it bears no comparison with the modern parallels in the sphere of its influence. Moreover, the whole of rural areas and a large part of urban business were outside the sinister hold of monopolists. Small trade still controlled a big share of the country's business and they in turn "were freely exploited by the customers as well as the big businessmen."[95] In a free market dominated to a great extent by *matsya-nyāya* (*fish-ethics*), prices were always and everywhere fluctuating, and to make the confusion worse confounded the coins, viz. the *paṇa* or the *Kārshāpaṇa*, the *māsha* or the *māshaka* varied in their exchange value from place to place. Only the names of metallic tokens are found to be universal; their ratios are not uniform, their metallic contents differ and hence their purchasing power even for the same actual price.[96]

V

The *Yuga* theory had been completely developed by the fourth century A. D., i. e. the Gupta age, and the *Yuga Purāṇa* chapter of *Gārgīsaṁhita*,[97] *Harivaṁśa*,[98] *Brahmapurāṇa*,[99] *Vāyu Purāṇa*,[100] *Matsya*,[101] *Kūrma*,[102] *Vishṇu*,[103] *Bhāgavata*,[104] *Brahmāṇḍa*,[105] *Liṅga*,[106] *Nṛisiṁha Purāṇas*[107] and several others present, often in identical terms, very pessimistic, dismal and harrowing account of what will happen in the Kali age. One extract from the Vanaparva[108] is sufficient to indicate the state of affairs. Accordingly all men will be liars, and besides the many vices that will infest the society the people will sell goods mostly with false weights and measures and traders will be full of many tricks, the righteous will wither away, the sinful will prosper, *dharma* will lose its strength and *adharma* will be powerful. Viewed in this context it will be seen that dishonest dealings were rampant everywhere in the market, during the Gupta period and afterwards. The *Mṛichchhakaṭika* declares that a merchant not a cheat, a goldsmith not a thief, a courtezan not greedy, were hardly possible to be found.[109] The state of affairs had come to such a horrible pass that Nārada and Bṛihaspati had to lay down numerous laws and regulations to safeguard the interest of buyers and sellers alike. These law-givers advise the intending purchaser to first examine an article before buying it in order to detect its good and bad qualities, and once approved by the purchaser after close examination it can not be returned to the vendor.[110]

However, a merchant who conceals the blemish of an article which he is selling or who mixes bad and good articles together or sells old articles as new

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after repairing them shall be compelled to give the double quantity to the purchaser and to pay a fine equal in amount to the value of the articles.[111] Selling or making false gold or fictitious gems or coral was a great offence and such persons were compelled to restore their price to the purchaser and to pay the double amount to the king as a fine.[112] Showing a faultless article to the intending purchaser but delivering afterwards another article with a blemish was yet another severe crime for which the seller was compelled to pay twice its value to the purchaser as well as a fine to the king.[113]

During the Gupta period also it was realised that gain on purchase and sale of merchandise of every sort should be in proportion to the price already paid.[114] With this end in view the merchants were directed to fix a just price of their merchandise according to the locality and season and not to indulge in dishonest dealings. A merchant must always strictly follow these principles to carry on honest business.[115] Unfortunately, however, we have no reference—direct or indirect—to price-fixation by the state during the Gupta period as we have in the age of the Mauryas, noted above. A sale effected in public was deemed to be fair but a clandestine sale was as bad as a theft according to law.[116] A sale effected by another man than the rightful owner was a punishable offence[117], and the vendor had to restore the property to the rightful owner, and to pay to the buyer the price for which it was sold, besides a fine to the king.[118] According to the legists a fraudulent purchase is that which is made at an unreasonably low price, in the interior of a house or outside the village at night, in secret or from a dishonet person,[119] and a person who makes such fraudulent purchases is a thief.[120]

Prices in the Gupta age and also in the subsequent period were not stable, and fluctuated according to the supply and demand of the commodities in the market.[121] The prices of corn, oil, essences, grain, gold, sea-products, honey, perfumes, ghee, flowers and other commodities sometimes rose rapidly amounting to double and triple the normal price. Under reverse conditions, however, merchandise became very cheap, sometimes resulting in heavy loss to the merchants.[122] Thus, prices and measures, like land measures, varied in standard from place to place. The literature and inscriptions of the period abound in references to weights such as *pala, āḍhaka, prastha, khāri, droṇa,* etc. which were used in the measurement of food-grains and other such articles. Kālidāsa and other writers of the period mention weighing balances *(tulā*[123] and measuring rods[124] for weighing different articles and measuring length etc.

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IV

Coming to the later period we find that things had changed tremendously and the high ideal practised by the State as well as the majority of the members of the mercantile community received a rude set-back, giving rise to chaotic conditions in the world of trade and business. The merchants af India have been highly praised for their honesty and straightforwardness by the foreign travellers. According to Al-Idrisi, "their good faith, honesty and fidelity to their engagement were well-known and they are so famous for these qualities that people flock to their country from every side".[125] The literary records of the later periods, however, depict the merchants as a band of deceitful hypocrites. Kalhaṇa denounces these dishonest merchants and embezzlers who "show themselves ever eager to listen to the (recital of sacred) texts."[126] This description of Kalhaṇa "can not but recall to one's mind their modern counterparts who spend large amounts on getting the holy name of Hari recited by women at Nabadvīpa and Vṛindāvana"[127] and other places of pilgrimage and in temples. Kalhaṇa equates the merchants with the courtesans, the officials and the clerks who are deceitful by nature. He does not stop at that and goes on denouncing them right and left : "The merchant, who puts drops of sandal-ointment on the forehead, eyeholes, ears and heart, takes one's life in a moment, just as a dangerous scorpion would, which is marked in six places."[128] The merchants also served as bankers to the people in those days but their behaviour was so deceitful that Kalhaṇa warns the people not to rely on their words or commitments because "the water which has been carried down to the ocean by the streams is received (back) from the clouds, but a thing deposited in a merchant's hand is never again recovered."[129]

From the above it would be wrong to presume that Kalhaṇa was hostile to the mercantile community or had any personal bias against the trading class which prompted him to use such derogatory language against them. He was the greatest historian of the age, an uncompromising patriot and progressive thinker, a scion of a distinguished family of administrators, a voluminous writer, a widely read scholar, a Sanskrit poet of eminence and one of the brightest jewels of his age, who overshadows most of his contemporaries by his brilliant writings. The all-round deterioration in the moral values of the age had made him unsparing in his criticism of those who were responsible for this sorry state of affairs. As the economic health of a nation is largely dependent on the honest behaviour of the trading class, Kalhaṇa, as an unflinching patriot, could not tolerate their deceitful practices which were eating into the very

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vitals of the society. That he was fully justified in his bitter criticism of the merchants is further corroborated by Kshemendra[130] who observes that "the merchants become dumb when a person buys only a little quantity of goods and they turn deaf when one comes to recover the mortgaged property from them."[131] Hemachandra,[132] who was quite familiar with the trading community of Gujrat, declares : "a body free from a disease is as rare as a merchant free from deceitfulness."[133] Besides, we have numerous stories in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* which speak of the dishonesty of the mercantile community.[134] Thus, it can be safely concluded that this fall in the standard of morality of the trading community reflects an all round deterioration in the character of the people of the age.[135]

References

1. *Abbreviations* :

ṚV.	— *Ṛigveda.*
Yāj.	— *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti.*
Milinda.	— *Milindapañho.*
Manu.	— *Manusmṛiti.*
Asht.	— *Ashṭādhyāyī.*
Śat. Brā.	— *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.*
Kāt. Śra. Sū.	— *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra.*
Arth.	— *Arthaśāstra.*
JRAS	— *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.*
Bṛ.	— *Bṛihaspatismṛiti.*
Skt. Eng. Dict.	— *Sanskrit-English Dictionary.*
Nār.	— *Nāradasmṛiti.*
Bhavishya.	— *Bhavishya Purāṇa.*
JBORS.	— *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,* Patna.
Mbh.	— *Mahābhārata.*
Mṛichchha.	— *Mṛichchhakaṭika* of Śūdraka.
Raghu.	— *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa.
Kum.	— *Kumārasambhava* of Kālidāsa.
Amar.	— *Amarakośa* of Amarasiṁha.
Vishṇu Dh. S.	— *Vishṇu Dharma Sūtra.*

2. *Vedic Index,* Vol. I, p. 471. Also see *ṚV.* X. 156. 3, 1.56.2; 1.116.5; IV. 24.9. etc.
3. *ṚV.*, 1.74.2; VIII. 45.15; 1.124.10; 1.184.2; III. 53.1; VI. 25.17; IX. 22.6; IX. 29 4; X. 48.1. etc.
4. *ṚV.*, IV. 25.7.
5. *Ibid.*, IV. 25.7; B. Shrivastava, *Trade and Commerce in Ancient India,* p. 19.
6. *ṚV.*, X. 108; I. 62.8; I. 66.1; II. 24.6-7; IV. 1.18; VI. 17.7; IX. 97.39; X. 48.1-2 etc.
7. For details see *Arthaśāstra,* II. 4, 16-23; Also see II. 7.2; *Manusmṛiti,* VIII. 41; *Yāj.*, 1.361: A. N. Bose, *Social and Rural Economy,* Vol. II, pp. 3-13.

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8. For details see *Jātaka*, VI, p. 69; Vol. IV, p. 256; Vol. V. p. 436; *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, p. 69; *Milinda*, p. 39 etc.
9. *Kṛi* stands for purchase in the *Ṛigveda*, IV. 24.10.
10. *Manu.*, VIII. 206-210, 211.
11. *Yāj.*, II. 264.
12. *Ibid.*, II. 264-65; *Nāradasmṛiti*, VI, 7, 17-18.
13. *Yāj.*, II. 187; *Manu.*, VIII. 219; *Vishṇu Dh. S.*, 167-68.
14. *Arth*, III. 12.28. 15. *Ibid*, III. 12. 28-29.
16. *Ashtādhyāyī*, IV. 4.13; V.S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 238.
17. *Asht.*, V. 1. 47; IV. 4.19. 18. *RV.*, IV. 24.9.
19. IV. 53, p. 135. 20. *Jātaka*, II, p. 295. 21. *RV.*, IV. 24.9.
22. *Jātaka*, Vol. I, pp. 111, 145; Vol. II, pp. 222, 289, 284; Vol. VI. pp. 113, 479; A.N. Bose, *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India*, Cal. 1967, Vol. II, p. 15; N.C. Bandopadhyaya, *Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India*, Cal. 1925, p. 171.
23. *Śat. Brā.* III, 3.3, 1-4; A.N. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
24. *Kāt. Śra. Sū.* VIII. 8, 1-12. 25. *Jātaka*, Vol. VI, p. 113. 26. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 4.
27. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *JRAS*, 1901, p. 875. For other details see Bose, *op. cit.*, pp. 15ff.
28. *Arthaśāstra*, (Trans.), Shamasastry, Book II.
29. For details see *Ibid.* 30. *Ibid.*, pp. 56-59.
31. B. Shrivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 231; *Arth.*, IV. 2. 20.
32. *Arth.*, IV. 2. 20. 33. *Yāj.* 249.
34. *Jātaka*, Vol. I, pp. 98-99. 35. *Ibid.*, p. 171.
36. A.N. Bose, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23. 37. *Arth.* II. 6.
38. *Yājñvalkyasmṛiti*, II, 244-45.
39. *Ibid.*, II, 244-50; Md. Aquique, *Economic History of Mithilā*, p. 130.
40. *Yāj.*, V. 123; II. 246. 41. *Ibid.*, II, 247-48.
42. *Manu.*, XI. 50; VIII. 203, IX. 286.
43. *Vishnusmṛiti*, V. 123 & XXXVII. 14.
44. *Nāradasmṛiti*, II. 35-37; X. 7; *Br.*, XXII. 13.
45. *Arth.*, IV. 2, 15-16.
46. *Br.*, XVIII, 3.4.7.9; Aquique, *op. cit.*, p. 130.
47. *Arth.*, IV. 2.23; Shamasastry, *Arthaśāstra* (Trans.), BK. II, pp. 234; Also see, *Prāchya-vidyātaraṅgiṇī*, ed. D.C. Sircar, p. 152.
48. *Arth.*, II. 21. 26, 39.
49. Strabo, XV, 51; MacCrindle, *India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 86; *India as described in Classical literature*, p. 54.
50. A.N. Bose, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-38.
51. *Arth.*, IV. 11. 3-13; B. Shrivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-95, 203-4.
52. R E.M. Wheeler, *Indus Civilization*, Cambridge, 1953, p. 61.
53. Monier-Williams, *Skt. Eng. Dict.*, p. 139.
54. *Vedic Index*, I, p. 516; II., p. 43. 55. *Skt. Eng. Dict.*, p. 139.
56. *Śat. Brā.*, II. 2.7.33. 57. *Vasishṭha-Dharmasūtra*, XIX, 23.
58. *Ibid.*, XIX. 23; *Manu.*, VIII. 403; *Yāj*, II. 240; *Arth.*, II. 19, 51.

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59. *Arth.*, II. 19. 51. 60. *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, 2.6.19.
61. *Dīgha Nikāya*, 8.2.43; Vol. III, p. 136; *Milindapañho*, Vol. II, p. 121.
62. *Manu.*, VIII. 403; *Yāj.*, 2. 240. 63. A.N. Bose, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.
64. For details see *Arth.*, II. 19, 11, 48-50, 40-41, 11-15.
65. *Ibid.*, II. 19.3-4. 66. *Ibid.*, II. 19. 13-17, 18-19, 23, etc.
67. *Jātaka*, Vol. VI, p. 119. 68. *Yāj.* II. 100-02; B. Shrivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 206.
69. B.C. Sen, *Economics in Kauṭilya*, pp. 94-95.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 95. 71. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
72. For details see *Arthaśāstra*, IV. 2; P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. III, Poona, 1946, p. 253.
73. B.C. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 33. 74. *Strabo*, XV. 1.50. 75. A.N. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 270; *Jātaka*, Vol. I, pp. 124-26.
77. A.N. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 270; *Jātaka*, Vol. I, pp. 124-27.
79. A.N. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 270. 80. *Manu.*, VIII. 308.
81. A.N. Bose, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22. 82. *Manu.*, VIII. 401-02.
83. *Yāj.*, II. 253, 251. 84. *Arth.*, IV. 2.29, 30.
85. *Ibid.*, IV. 2. 29, 30. 86. *Ibid.*, IV. 2.29.30.
87. *Daśakumāracharita*, II. 56; P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. III, Poona, 1946, p. 390.
88. *Yāj.*, II. 252.
89. For other details see B. Shrivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-37; Md., Aquique, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-30.
90. *Economics in Kauṭilya*, p. 39. 91. B.C. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 39. 93. *RV.*, IV. 29. 9; *Br.*, XVIII. 5; *Nār.*, IX. 2 ff.
94. A.N. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 24. 95. *Ibid.*, p. 25. 96. *Ibid.*
97. Ed. K.P. Jayaswal, *JBORS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 400 ff.
98. *Bhavishya*, chap. 3. 5 ff. 99. 229-230. 100. 58 & 99, 391-428.
101. 144. 32-77. 102. 1.30. 103. VI. 1. 2.
104. XII. 2. 105. II. 31. 106. 40.
107. 54. 11-19. 108. *Mbh.*, 149. 11-38.
109. *Mṛichchh.*, V, p. 144-45.
110. *Nār.*, IX. 4. For the period of examination of different types of merchandise see *Ibid.*, IX. 5-7; Also see *Br.*, XVIII, 9, XVIII. 3; XVIII. 4; XVIII. 7; P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. III, pp. 489-92.
111. *Br.*, XXII. 13. 112. *Ibid.*, XXII. 18.
113. *Nār.*, VIII. 5. 114. *Ibid.*, VIII. 11.
115. *Ibid.*, VIII. 12. 116. *Ibid.*, VII. 2-4. 117. *Ibid.*, VII. 5.
118. For details, Br., XII. 10-12; XII. 3; S.K. Maity, *Economic Life in Northern India in the Gupta period*, p. 106 (2nd edn. 1970).
119. *Br.*, XII. 4. 120. *Ibid.*, XII. 3.
121. S.K. Maity, *op. cit.*, p. 167.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 167, see also, p. 247, Appendix—I.

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123. *Raghu.*, VIII. 15; *Kum.*, V. 34; *Amar.*, 5.17; *Amar.* 9.85.
124. *Kum.*, I. 1 (*mānadaṇḍaḥ*).
125. H.M. Elliot & J. Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. I, p. 88; *Marco Polo*, ed. Yule, p. 313.
126. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VIII. 706-10.
127. B.P. Mazumdar, *Socio-Economic History of Northern India*, p. 369.
128. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VIII. 131, 133.
129. *Ibid.*, VIII. 128.
130. *Samayamātrikā*, V. 53-58.
131. B.P. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 369.
132. *Triśashṭiśalākapurushacharita*, ed. A.K. Majumdar, p. 339.
133. *Ibid.*, p. 369.
134. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, II, p. 3.
135. B.P. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

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EARLY GREEK WRITERS ON WRITING IN INDIA

LALLANJI GOPAL

The testimony of the early Greek writers has an important bearing on the origin and antiquity of script in India. But, somehow this category of evidence has not been properly scrutinised. The earlier band of European scholars can easily be expected to have been familiar with Greek accounts bearing on India. But, in the initial stages of the controversy, it was the palaeographic argument which was uppermost in the minds of the scholars. The literary references in general were not subjected to a careful and minute analysis. No doubt, Max Müller[1] did refer to the testimony of Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī*, but, as was demonstrated by T. Goldstücker[2] and other subsequent writers[3], the *Ashṭādhyāyī* had not been properly utilised and some relevant references were not considered by Max Müller.

The references in the Greek accounts, belonging to the times of Alexander or later Chandragupta Maurya, had a vital relevance to the theory suggesting a Greek origin for the Brāhmī characters. When the scholars were discussing the origin of the script, which historically is noticed first in the reign of Aśoka, they should have carefully scrutinised the Greek evidence, as it pertains to the period immediately preceding the times of Aśoka. Scholars advocating the Greek origin possibly argued that the Brāhmī characters appear first in the reign of Aśoka, and the Greeks, who had evolved their own script and who came to India half a century ealier, are to be given credit for passing on the knowledge of the script to the Indians. Though these scholars did not prominently underline the Greek testimony, particularly the statement of Megasthenes, which records that writing was not known to the Indians, it can be easily conceded that they were possibly well familiar with the relevant passages.[4] Those, who did not favour the Greek origin theory, found references to writing in Indian literature going back several centuries before the period of the Greek accounts and hence they did not pay as much attention to the Greek sources as was due to them. Thus, there has been no detailed study of the Greek evidence relating to the question of writing in ancient India.

J. G. Bühler,[5] who was the first to give a respectable treatment to the literary references, listed the statements of Nearchos, Q. Curtius and two

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passages ascribed to Megasthenes.[6] G. H. Ojha[7] added two more passages from Megasthenes.[8] R. B. Pandey[9] collects all these passages from Greek sources which were earlier noticed by Bühler and Ojha. All these scholars had rejected the theory of the Greek origin of the Brāhmī characters and had completely dismissed the possibility of this script being created in the Aśokan period. They, with all their differences about the possible origin of the Brāhmī, traced its antiquity, with the help of literary references, to very early times.[10] Thus, Greek references had not much practical importance for them; they were, at best, corroborations with a very restricted academic worth. As these scholars were absolutely convinced about the antiquity of writing in India, they completely ignored those passages in Greek accounts which observed that writing was unknown in India. It is significant that none of these scholars gave any space whatsoever to a discussion of these statements of Greek writers.

The passages in the Greek accounts refer to two different, though not far removed, periods. The statements of Nearchos and Q. Curtius refer to the times of Alexander, whereas Magasthenes speaks of the reign of Chandragupta Maurya, thus roughly belonging to a period one-quarter of a century later.

Nearchos was one of the generals of Alexander. He had accompanied Alexander to the Panjab. With the retreating army he went up to the Indus, and, on the orders of Alexander, led a fleet to explore the Erythraean Sea. The journal of the voyage written by Nearchos himself is not available, but is partially preserved by Arrian in his *Indika*.[11] The passages from Nearchos's account, relevant for our present study, are to be found in Strabo's work. William Vincent argues for the reliability of these statements.[12]

Q. Curtius is generally taken to have belonged to the reign of Claudius (A. D. 41-54), the Roman Emperor. He wrote *The History of Alexander, the Great.* Of its ten books the first two are completely lost, whereas the remaining ones are incomplete. Presumably his narrative was based on the earlier accounts of Alexander's invasion.

Megasthenes is generally known to have visited the court of Sandrocottus (Chandragupta Maurya) as an ambassador of Seleucus after the treaty between these two kings. His *Indika* is lost. It is known in the form of passages from this book quoted in later writings.[13] It is not the place to discuss afresh the question of the veracity of Megasthenes. In any case, it is clear that the later writers, who have quoted Megasthenes (as also Megasthenes himself), tended to emphasise the spectacular, curious and fabulous in India. But, it is

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generally admitted that though Megasthenes may have misinterpreted certain aspects of Indian life and society, as he viewed them from the Greek standpoint, he was a careful observer of things which came under his personal observation.[14]

The available passages may be classified into two groups : (1) those which contain references suggesting the use of script and (2) those which directly refer to the prevalence or absence of writing in India. It is the passages belonging to the first group that have been listed by scholars. Passages falling under the second category have generally been ignored by scholars. Here we propose to discuss all relevant passages in the Greek accounts and analyse their bearing on the question of the origin of the Brāhmī script.

I. The first passage contains a statement of Nearchos as quoted by Strabo.[15] Bühler did not quote the passage but said that according to this statement 'the Hindus wrote letters on well-beaten cotton cloth.'[16] The passage as quoted by R. B. Pandey reads: 'the people of this place know the art of manufacturing paper out of cotton and tattered clothes (certainly for writing purposes'). Elsewhere[17] he quotes Nearchos as writing that 'the Indians were manufacturing writing paper out of cotton by pounding.' He criticises Bühler for confusing cotton-paper with cotton-cloth.[18] Apparently Pandey has inserted details which are not justified by the original passage. The translation as done by H. L. Jones reads: 'they write (*dè gráphein*) missives (*epistolás*) on linen cloth that is very closely woven (*en sindòsi liàn kekrotemènais*).'[19] Nearchos does not refer to the process of manufacturing paper. He clearly refers to the use of cotton cloth for writing. It is quite different that on the basis of other evidence we may accuse Nearchos for misunderstanding or reporting incorrectly the nature of the writing material. As is generally known, paper was first made in China and was introduced in India by the Muslims.[20] The use of cotton cloth for writing has been prevalent in India as also in Nepal and Tibet. Whatever the nature of the writing material, the passage, in any case, clearly refers to the practice of writing letters,[21] thus implying a knowledge of script.

II. Q. Curtius records : 'The tender side of the barks of trees receives written characters like paper'[22]. As correctly observed by Bühler, this clearly points to the early utilisation of the well known birch-bark'[23] (*bhūrjapatra, Baetula Bhojpattr*). Curtius generally derived his information from earlier writers. But, his source of information in the present case is not known. None of the other earlier writers, who have recorded the history of Alexander's invasion, mention

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this fact. It is not unlikely that Curtius received this information from some source other than the contemporaries of Alexander. In that case this statement will not be of much use; it cannot be taken to be faithful to the practice in the times of Alexander. But, the possibility cannot be ruled out that this statement also goes back to some writer contemporary of Alexander. In that case Curtius is important in recording another writing material used in those early times.

The significance of these two statements of Nearchos and Curtius has been well brought out by Bühler[24] in his remark 'The fact that, according to these two writers, two different indigenous Indian materials were used in 327-325 B. C. shows that the art of writing was then generally known and was nothing new'.

III. Bühler[25] quotes fragment No. 36a of Megasthenes from C. Muller[26] as speaking of mile-stones indicating the distances and the halting-places on the high roads. The translation as given by McCrindle[27] is slightly different. It does not refer to halting places or rest houses. It says : 'They construct roads, and at every ten stadia[28] set up a pillar to show the by-roads and distances'. The fragment is taken from Strabo's *Geography.*[29] The translation of the relevant line in the Loeb Classical Library edition[30] is not vitally different from that given by McCrindle.

It is to be noted that this Fragment, dealing with administration of public affairs, is placed by R. C. Majumdar[31] in Class III; it is doubtful if the passages in this category were derived from the *Indika* of Megasthenes. The line in question belongs to a passage which refers to the market commissioners among the class of officials. So far as the question of script is concerned, it is to be emphasised that the passage does not make a direct and specific reference to the use of writing. The signs or symbols could have been different from written letters. But, it has to be admitted that the reference makes a case for the prevalence of writing.

IV. This passage from Megasthenes was first noticed by G. H. Ojha.[32] He did not give the actual quotation, but mentioned it as if it is a literal translation of the original passage : On the New Year's Day the predictions for future (almanac) are announced.[33] R. B. Pandey[34], without caring to check the passage as appearing in the fragments of *Indika*, misinterpreted Ojha's reference to mean that there were almanacs implying a regular knowledge of writing. He says that Megasthenes 'refers to the customs of relating '*Varshaphala*' (good or evil prospects of the year) according to an almanac (which could be prepared

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only with the help of writing)....' But there is no reference to the preparation or use of almanacs in the accounts of Megasthenes or any other Greek writer.

The reference to forecasts is in connexion with the description of the philosophers[35], one of the seven castes into which Megasthenes divides the Indian population. The account of the seven castes is one of the significant descriptions given by Megasthenes. It is recorded by many of the subsequent writers who had used the *Indika*. Some of these versions are brief and summarised, but others give a detailed account. Three notable versions, which make a more pointed reference to the predictions made by the philosophers, are found in Diodorus[36], Strabo[37] and Arrian.[38]

Diodorus records : 'To the people of India at large they also render great benefits, when, gathered together at the beginning of the year, they forewarn the assembled multitudes about droughts and wet weather, and also about propitious winds, and diseases, and other topics capable of profiting the hearers. Thus the people and the sovereign, learning beforehand what is to happen, always make adequate provision against a coming deficiency, and never fail to prepare beforehand what will help in a time of need.' The work done by the philosophers, as narrated in this passage, seems to describe what in Indian astrology is termed as *Varshaphala* (predictions for the year). But, here we do not find any indication of the way the philosophers made predictions; the passage is totally silent about the philosophers preparing an almanac or reading the predictions from it.

The passage, as recorded by Arrian, does not differ from that of Diodorus in its essence. It says : 'To this class the knowledge of divination among the Indians is exclusively restricted, and none but a sophist is allowed to practise that art. They predict about such matters as the seasons of the year, and any calamity which may befall the state....'

In the version given by Strabo there is a significant change. It reads: 'Their services are employed....publicly by the kings at what is called the Great Synod, wherein at the beginning of the new year all the philosophers are gathered together before the king at the gates, when any philosopher who may have committed any useful suggestion to writing, or observed any means for improving the crops and the cattle, or for promoting the public interests, declares it publicly.' Here we have a specific statement that the philosophers used to record their suggestions in writing. It is possibly this reference which

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has been used by Ojha and Pandey as mentioning the custom of preparing almanac. But, the passage simply says that the philosophers put down their suggestions to writing. As against the other passages, the present one does not refer to the philosophers as making predictions. Hence it would not be correct to use this passage on its own to prove that the almanacs were prepared by the philosophers every year. In any case the passage can be used to suggest that according to Megasthenes writing was known to the Indians in his time.

Of the three versions, that of Diodorus is placed by Majumdar[39] in Category IV consisting of long passages whose authenticity is highly doubtful, there being no evidence to prove that they emanated from Megasthenes. We may admit that 'Diodorus utilised sources other than the *Indika* of Megasthenes' but the long passage contains statements, including the present one, which closely resemble passages specifically attributed to Megasthenes. The two other versions by Arrian and Strabo belong to Category I of R.C. Majumdar. They are explicitly attributed to Megasthenes. Though there are some differences in the details of the three versions of the passage, we have no means to determine their comparative merit. If, as seems logical, we take the statement in Strabo as emanating from Megasthenes, we can conclude that Megasthenes refers to the use of a script in Chandragupta's reign.

V. This passage was brought out by G. H. Ojha[40] who quotes Megasthenes as saying that 'for preparing horoscopes the time of birth is written down.' R. B. Pandey[41] apparently follows Ojha. The citation given by Ojha[42] is actually Fragment XXXIV in McCrindle which is taken from Strabo.[43] The passage mentions the duties of the third out of the six groups into which the city commissioners were divided. It says : 'The third body consists of those who inquire when and how births and deaths occur, with the view not only of levying a tax, but also in order that births and deaths among both high and low may not escape the cognizance of Government.' The translation in the Loeb Library Edition is slightly different, though it does not make any basic change so far as the question of writing is concerned. It reads : 'The third group is that of those who scrutinize births and deaths, when and how they take place, both for the sake of taxes and in order that births and deaths, whether better or worse, may not be unknown.'

It is clear that there is no mention of horoscopes in the passage. Though the passage does not directly state it, we can infer that the group of city commissioners kept a record of births and deaths. The passage does not

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specify that the full details about the time of birth and death, day, date and hour, were recorded. The recording was done by officers, clearly for official purposes. There is no indication that private individuals kept a record of such details for preparing the horoscopes of their family members. But, in any case, the passage implies that the group of officers used to personally verify births and deaths and kept a regular record of these for official purposes, including taxation. This obviously would suggest that writing was known and was in regular use.

This passage also belongs to Category III suggested by Majumdar. The remarks made above for Passage III are applicable to the present passage as well. Actually it is intrinsically connected with Passage III. It may be noted that Strabo XV. 1.51 dealing with city commissioners immediately follows Strabo XV. 1.50 dealing with market commissioners. Both actually form part of the account of the officials of which the three categories (including the market commissioners and city commissioners) are mentioned in the opening sentence of Strabo XV. 1.50.

VI. There is a casual reference in Strabo's *Geographicon*[44] which possibly could not be noticed by earlier scholars because it appears in an account about the Scythians. The passage reads : 'And not only the Persian letters *(epistolaí)* are full of references to that straightforwardness of which I am speaking but also the memoirs *(apomnemoneyómena)* written by the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Indians'. The source from which Strabo derived this information is not mentioned. His book is 'a rich mine of information about India.' Though he has drawn on Nearchos, Eratosthenes and Megasthenes, he could get a fuller information about India on account of its contacts with the Roman Empire, and hence some of his statements belong to his own times. The present statement also speaks of Indian memoirs which possibly were not prepared in an earlier period and hence cannot be quoted to prove or disprove the prevalence of a script in the times of Chandragupta Maurya or Alexander.

VII. This statement of Megasthenes has been often quoted and discussed by scholars. It is taken from Fragment XXVII[45] and occurs in Strabo's *Geographicon.*[46] The translation of the relevant passage as given by McCrindle reads : 'Megasthenes says that those who were in the camp of Sandrakottos, wherein lay 400,000 men, found that the thefts reported on any one day did not exceed the value of two hundred drachmae, and this among a people who have no written laws, but are ignorant of writing, and must therefore in all the business of life trust to memory.'

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Bühler[47] gave only the essential part of the passage. He remarked 'Megasthenes says that the Indians decided judicial cases according to unwritten laws, and adds in explanation that they knew no *grammata* and settled everything *á po mnemes*'. He did not translate the crucial expressions in the second part of the statement with the result that it remained obscure and subsequent writers tended to ignore it.[48] Bühler followed Schwanbeck,[49] Max-Müller[50], Burnell[51], Lassen[52] and Weber.[53] According to this interpretation, the statement of Megasthenes resulted from a misunderstanding on his part. The informants of Megasthenes possibly communicated that the Indians decided their cases according to the *Smṛitis*; they used this term 'in the sense of "sacred tradition concerning law" or the "lawbooks" which, according to Indian principles, can only be explained orally by one who knows the Dharma'.[54] But Megasthenes took the term *Smṛiti* in its literal sense of 'memory' (*mneme*) and hence stated that the Indians did not have written laws. The second part of the statement about the Indians being ignorant of writing and regulating their things by memory was not part of the information given by the informants. It was possibly an inference on the part of Megasthenes; he added it to bring home to his countrymen the peculiarities of Indian phenomenon.

In order to assess the real significance of the statement we have to read the passage in its full context in the *Geography* of Strabo.[55] Strabo says : 'All Indians live a simple life, and specially when they are on expeditions; and neither do they enjoy useless disturbances; and on this account they behave in an orderly manner. But their greatest self-restraint pertains to theft; at any rate, Megasthenes says that when he was in the camp of Sandrocottus, although the number in camp was forty thousand, he on no day saw reports of stolen articles that were worth more than two hundred drachmae; and that too among a people who use unwritten (*a-gráphois*) laws (*nómois*) only. For, he continues, they (*autous*) have no knowledge of (*oudé eidévai*) written letters (*grammata*), and (*allá*) regulate (*disikeisthai*) every single thing (*ekasta*) from memory (*apo mnemes*); but still they fare happily, because of their simplicity and their frugality....'

There is no doubt about the authenticity of the passage as directly emanating from Megasthenes. Thus, according to Megasthenes, the Indians did not know writing. If the statement is to be accepted as it is recorded, then we will have to conclude that no script had gained currency by the time of Chandragupta Maurya. The passage is one of the main arguments for placing the origin of the Brāhmī script in the reign of Aśoka. It seems that much emphasis has been

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laid on the explanation that the statement resulted from a misunderstanding on the part of Megasthenes. It has not been realised that, explanations apart, the fact remains that Megasthenes, who possibly lived in India for a few years, did not personally see the use of writing. As the testimony comes from the pen of a Greek who had a full knowledge of a script, it cannot be lightly brushed aside. R.C. Majumdar[56] cites the passage as 'an instance, of the ignorance of the classical writers' which is difficult to explain. He argues; 'There is, however, hardly any doubt that the art of writing was known to the Indians at the time of Megasthenes and even much earlier. This is proved by the inscriptions engraved on rocks and pillars during the reign of Aśoka, about half a century later. These letters are so well formed that there must have been an anterior period of development of writing extending over centuries.' The palaeographical peculiarities of the script, as found in the Aśokan inscriptions, clearly show that it could not have been a creation of the reign of Aśoka. It had its origin earlier, though not in any remote past. Moreover, this statement of Megasthenes is not to be interpreted in isolation. It has to be evaluated in the light of other statements by Megasthenes and other classical writers. We discuss some of the statements by other classical writers below. But, here it has to be pointed out that Strabo who has reproduced the present statement of Megasthenes, has preserved another statement of Megasthenes (Passage IV) in which we have a clear reference to the philosophers writing down their suggestions. Thus, it will not be correct to infer only from the present passage of Megasthenes that writing did not exist in India in the times of Chandragupta Maurya and that it was created in a later period. It is quite likely that the script was created not long before the reign of Chandragupta and hence had not gained wide popular circulation. This possibly explains the confusion in the apparently contradictory statements.

VIII. The above statement of Megasthenes is partially corroborated by Nearchos. The statement of Megasthenes is to be read along with the remarks made by Nearchos. This becomes all the more necessary in view of the fact that both the statements are quoted by Strabo. The present statement occurs in a passage that immediately precedes the passage from which we have noticed a statement earlier (Passage I). In the present passage Nearchos is first quoted by Strabo as speaking of the sophists. Then he adds : 'As for the customs of the rest of the Indians, he (Nearchos) declares as follows: That their laws (*nómoys*), some public (*coinoûs*) and some private (*idìous*), are unwritten (*agráphoys*), and that they contain customs that are strange as compared with those of the other tribes'.[57] Thus, both Nearchos and Megasthenes alike had

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noticed that the Indian laws were unwritten. As discussed earlier, the statement possibly aims at communicating to the Greek readers the fact that the *Smṛitis* contained the law in ancient India. In this respect there is total agreement in the statements of the two Greek writers. The statement made by Nearchos does not prove that the Indians were unfamiliar with writing. It seems from the passage that Nearchos had some idea of the body of Indian laws. Nearchos had no difficulty on account of the earlier part of his statement. He himself had noticed in an immediately preceding passage discussed above (Passage I) that the Indians wrote letters on closely woven linen cloth. But, Megasthenes, who somehow was not so well informed in this respect, committed the mistake of inferring from the remark about the unwritten laws that writing was unknown in India.

IX. The last statement relevant to our study is again from Strabo's *Geographicon.* It immediately follows the observation made by Nearchos which we have listed above as Passage I. But clearly the statement does not emanate from Nearchos. It is in the nature of a comment made by Strabo and reads: 'though the other writers say (*ton àllon....phaménon*) that they make no use of (*aytoys me chresthai*) written characters (*grammasis*).'[58] Strabo does not mention the names of writers from whom he got this information. But, it can be guessed that he had in his mind statements made by other writers such as the one Strabo himself in an earlier passage has attributed to Megasthenes (Passage VII). It must, however, be added that among the ancient writers, whose accounts have come down to us, whether in full or in quotations, it is Megasthenes alone who expresses doubt about the use of writing; no other writer is known to have made any such statement.

If we take a stock of all the passages noticed above, we find that, excepting Passage II (by Q. Curtius), all the others have come to us through Strabo's *Geographicon.* Of these, two emanate from Nearchos (Passages I and VIII) and four from Megasthenes (Passages III, IV, and VII). The remaining two are given by Strabo himself (Passages VI and IX).

Passage I (which is a statement by Nearchos) clearly implies a knowledge of writing. Passage II (by Q. Curtius), though of a late date, corroborates the testimony of Passage I. Three statements by Megasthenes (Passages III, IV and V) also imply the use of a script. They have varying degree of relevance and force for the subject we are analysing. Of these, Passage III has the clearest reference, but is of a slightly doubtful merit, in as much as the account, as recorded by other writers (Diodorus and Arrian), does not contain

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such a direct reference. Passage IV comes next, followed by Passage V. In these passages the use of writing is not as forcefully implied as in Passage III. Passage VI is not of much use. This statement of Strabo apparently refers to his own times and cannot be used for the times of Chandragupta Maurya or Alexander. The real difficulty arises on account of Passage VII by Megasthenes. But, as we have seen above, the central point of information in the passage is about the laws being unwritten. The statement is identically similar to Passage VIII (by Nearchos). It seems that the two Greek writers could not adequately express the use of the term *Smṛiti* for Indian socio-legal codes. Megasthenes committed the mistake of drawing an inference from this inadequately worded statement of his, surprisingly enough without attempting any coherent synthesis with his other statements in other contexts. The doubt expressed by Megasthenes has been repeated by Strabo in Passage IX.

In fine, we may say that the accounts of the early Greek writers, Nearchos and Megasthenes (Passages I, III, IV and V), make a strong case that writing was known in the times of Alexander and Chandragupta Maurya. The description of the *Smṛitis* as the unwritten laws (Passages VII and VIII) led Megasthenes (Passage VIII) to draw the wrong inference that writing was unknown to the Indians. If, however, this remark of Megasthenes is taken to be based on his independent observation, then it will be a sad example and discredit to his qualities as a keen and careful observer of things. As is known, Megasthenes has committed similar mistakes in recording some other characteristic details of Indian life and culture in his times. If our suggestion to place the creation of the Brāhmī script in the period between C. 483 and C. 383 B.C.[59] is to be accepted, then it can be pleaded, in favour of Megasthenes, that as writing was a recent creation, it had not gained wide circulation and the circles in which Megasthenes moved, did not communicate to him a clear and definite information about the regular use of writing in India.

References

1. *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 262.
2. *Pāṇini : His Place in Sanskrit Literature* (Allahabad, 1914), pp. 10 ff.
3. G.H. Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prāchīna Lipimālā* (Ajmer, 2nd edn. 1918, Reprint Delhi, 1950), pp. 6-8.
4. Max Muller, *op. cit.*, p. 367, points out that Nearchos shows the familiarity of the Indians with the art of making paper with cotton.
5. *Indian Palaeography* (English translation by J.F. Fleet, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIII, 1904), p. 6 (It has been published as an offprint of *Indian Studies : Past and Present*; Calcutta, 1962).

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6. One passage speaks of mile-stones and the other refers to the unwritten laws.
7. *Op. cit.*, pp. 3-4. Ojha, however, does not list the statement of Q. Curtius.
8. One refers to the custom of relating the annual prediction on the New Year's day and the other mentions the recording of the time of birth for preparing the horoscope.
9. *Indian Palaeography*, Part I (Varanasi, 2nd edn. 1957), pp. 6-7. T.V. Mahalingam, *Early South Indian Palaeography* (Madras, 1967), pp. 103-4, lists all these passages excepting that which speaks of the unwritten laws.
10. According to Bühler (*op. cit.*, p. 18) 'the elaboration of the Brāhmī was completed about B.C. 500, or perhaps even earlier, the *terminus a quo*, about B.C. 800, may be considered as the actual date of the introduction of the Semitic alphabet into India.' He admitted that 'there is nothing to bar the conjecture, repeatedly put forward, that, even during the Vedic period, MSS. were used as auxiliaries both in oral instruction and on other occasions' (*ibid.*, p. 4). About the argument quoted as evidence for the use of writing in the Vedic period he remarked that 'though some of these points...undeniably possess considerable weight, they have yet not gained general recognition, as will always happen if an *argumentum ex impossibili* is used, even if it should be supported by fuller special enquiries than Sanskrit scholars have hitherto devoted to these subjects' (*ibid.*, p. 3). Hence he did not notice the Vedic references in detail but instead discussed the references in the Ceylonese *Tripiṭaka* which 'bear witness not only to an acquaintance with writing, but also to its extensive use at the time when the Buddhist canon was composed' (*ibid.*, p. 5). The Ceylonese canon, according to him 'refer certainly to the actualities of the period between 500-400 B.C., possibly even of the sixth century' (*ibid.*). G.H. Ojha, *op. cit.* pp. 6-15, elaborately discusses Vedic passages to establish that the system of writing was known in the Vedic period, even as early as the times of the *Rigveda*. R.B. Pandey, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-17 also reproduces Vedic passages and, on the basis of the date of the Vedic literature, as proposed by Bühler and Winternitz, extends the antiquity of writing in India to the fourth millennium B.C. See also Whitney, Benfey, Böhtlingk, Pischel, Geldner and Dahlmann quoted by Bühler, *op. cit.*, p. 3, f.n. 29.
11. Chapters XVIII to XLIII; McCrindle, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*; W. Vincent, *The Voyage of Nearchus*; R.C. Majumdar, *Classical Accounts of India*, pp. 313-36.
12. He remarks that Strabo is indebted to Nearchus for many facts which, however, extraordinary they might appear in his age, have been confirmed by modern observation—W. Vincent, *The Voyage of Nearchus* (London, 1797), p. 57.
13. Schwanbeck collected all such Fragments in his German work. The English translation by J. W. McCrindle popularised it. R. C. Majumdar, "The Indika of Megasthenes", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Volume LXXVIII, no. 4 (1958), pp. 273-76; *Classical Accounts of India*, pp. 461-73 has raised doubt about two out of the four classes of the Fragments forming part of the original *Indika*.
14. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian* (Calcutta, 1926), Introduction, pp. 17-28; R.C. Majumdar, *Classical Accounts of India*, pp 467-69.
15. *Geographicon* XV. 717 (1.67).
16. *Indian Palaeography*, pp. 6, 88.

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17. *op. cit.*, p. 71. 18. *Ibid.*, f. n. 3.

19. Strabo, *Geographicon* (Loeb Classical Library) Translated by H.L. Jones (Ed. by E.H. Warmington), Vol. VII, p. 117. The Greek terms have been inserted by us to facilitate a proper study of the passage.

20. D.M. Bose, S.N. Sen and B.V. Subbarayappa, *A Concise History of Science in India* (New Delhi, 1971), pp. 341-43.

21. Jones translates the original term as 'missives'. A missive is that which is sent, as a letter. In plural form it refers in Scots law to 'letters sent between two parties in which one makes an offer and the other accepts it'—W. Geddie (Ed.), *Chambers's Twentieth Century Dictionary, s.v.*

22. *The History of Alexander the Great*, VIII. 9—J.W. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great as described by Arrian, Q. Curtius, Diodorus, Plutarch and Justin*, p. 186; R.C. Majumdar, *Classical Accounts of India*, p. 104.

23. *Indian Palaeography*, p. 6. 24. *Ibid.* 25. *Ibid.*

26. *Fragm. Hist. Graeco.*, 2, 430. G.H. Ojha, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4, quotes *Indika of Megasthenes*, pp. 125-26, to the same effect. R.B. Pandey, apparently relying on the same reference as used by Ojha, gives the passage as : 'in India mile-stones are fixed on the roads at an interval of ten stadia to know the distance between the rest houses.'

27. *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 86-87: Fragment XXXIV.

28. Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 4, f. n. 1, mentions a stadium as being equal to 606 ft. 9 inches. If a stadium is taken at 202½ yards, ten stadia (which possibly represented the Indian measure *krośa*) will be equal to 2022½ yards, very close to the shorter *kosa* of 4000 *haths* which was in use in the Panjab and parts of Bengal—McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 86, f. n.

29. XV. 1.50.

30. Vol. VII. Also Majumdar, *Classical Accounts of India*, p. 268: And they make roads and at every ten stadia place pillars showing the by-roads and the distances.

31. *Op. cit.*, pp. 469, 471. In this category Majumdar places passages preceding or following passages explicitly attributed to Megasthenes or closely resembling such passages, though not specifically attributed to him.

32. *Op. cit.*, p. 4. He cited *Indika of Megasthenes*, p. 91.

33. नये वर्ष के दिन भावीफल (पंचांग) सुनाया जाता है। This naturally creates the impression that the predictions were read out from an almanac.

34. *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

35. Arrian, however, uses the term Sophists.

36. II. 40; McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 38-39 (Fragment I); R.C. Majumdar, *Classical Accounts of India*, pp. 236-37. On the basis of the translation of the work of Diodorus by C.H. Oldfather, R.C. Majumdar substitutes 'since they are invited at the beginning of the year to the Great Synod and forewarn' for 'when gathered together at the beginning of the year, they forewarn'.

37. XV. 1.39; McCrindle, *Loc. cit.*, p. 83 (Fragment XXXIII); R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 263-64.

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38. XI; McCrindle, *loc. cit.*, pp. 214-15, 83 (Fragment XXXII).
39. *Op. cit.*, pp. 463-64, 469.
40. *Op. cit.*, p. 4 : जन्म पत्र बनाने के लिये जन्म समय लिखा जाता है ।
41. *Op. cit.*, p. 6.
42. *Indika of Megasthenes*, p. 126. The passage appears in McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
43. XV. 1.51. Strabo, *Geographicon*, Translated by H. L. Jones (Edited by E. H. Warmington), Vol. VII, p. 85; R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 268-69.
44. VII. 3.8. Loeb Library Edition, Vol. III, p. 201. See *supra* f. n. 19.
45. McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
46. Loeb Library Edition, Vol. VII, pp. 87-88; R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 269-70.
47. *Indian Palaeography*, p. 6.
48. G.H. Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 4; R.B. Pandey, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.
49. *Megasthenes*, p. 50, n. 48.
50. *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 515.
51. *Elements of South Indian Palaeography* (2nd ed.), p. 1.
52. *Indische Altertumskunde*, 2nd ed., II, 2, 724.
53. *Indische Skizzen*, pp. 131 f.
54. Bühler, *op. cit.*
55. Loeb Library Edition, Vol. VII, pp. 87-88; R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 269-70. See *supra* f. n. 19.
56. *Classical Accounts of India*, Introduction, pp. IX-X.
57. See *supra* f. n. 19. 58. See *supra* f. n. 19.
59. Our article "Buddhist origin of the Brāhmī script" is to be published in Prof. S. Nurul Hasan Felicitation Volume.

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THE BACKGROUND OF EARLY BUDDHISM

J. W. DE JONG

How and why a religion comes into being is one of the most difficult problems facing the student of religious phenomena. In many cases no answer can be given at all for the simple reason that the origins of many religions are buried in an ancient past, which has not left any historical data. Buddhism, however, like Christianity and Islam, made its appearance in Historical times. No one today will deny that its founder lived in India some centuries before the beginning of the Christian era. The period preceding the Buddha's activities brought forth an extensive literature, the Vedic literature, the beginning of which can be traced back to the 2nd millennium B.C., when the Āryans entered India from the North West. Excavations have brought to light the remains of a past even more remote, so that since 1921 we are certain of the existence of a flourishing culture in the West of India in the third millennium B. C. Hence, it might easily be concluded that abundant evidence is available which can be used to determine the causes leading to the rise of Buddhism. As a matter of fact, since the beginning of the 19th century this question has occupied many eminent men of learning. Yet, when studying the wellnigh too voluminous literature on the subject, one can hardly state that the question has been satisfactorily answered. For this reason a renewed effort to arrive at an answer to this question and to take a closer look at some of its aspects would not be superfluous.

Critical studies of the birth of Buddhism in particular and of the first stage of its development were first embarked upon by Western scholars during the 19th century. Precisely the earliest period of Buddhism has received most attention in critical research since that time to the relative neglect of later developments; only recently more attention has been afforded to the later stadia. Schayer has remarked, quite rightly, that this almost exclusive interest in the "astounding person of the Buddha" and in the "original realm of Buddhist thought" can be traced back to the 19th century Protestant conception of true, evangelical Chirstianity, which was applied to Buddhism. Undoubtedly, this has been, consciously or unconsciously, an important factor in the predilection for Buddhism in its oldest forms. Other factors such as rationalism and a liberal humanism, both characteristic of the mentality of 19th century

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scholars, played an important role, too. These schools of thought were particularly attracted by the image of the Buddha given by such scholars as Rhys Davids and Oldenberg on the basis of the canonical texts of the Little Vehicle, the *Hīnayāna*. Both Rhys Davids and Oldenberg made a considerable contribution to a better knowledge of this literature by means of the publication of these texts and their translation. They looked upon these texts as the most important source for understanding original, true Buddhism, which had not yet been distorted by mythological fantasies, but which retained the memory of the sublime Buddha, the great teacher of suffering mankind, who accomplished his blessed labour in preaching and dialogue, possessed of Socratic calm and irony. The almost exclusive concentration on the philosophical aspect of Buddhism was typical of this 19th century conception. The religious aspect, which cannot be separated from it, was much less an object of study and consideration. Here again contemporary trends go far to explain this lack of interest. Christianity had been reduced to an ethic, expounded by a noble teacher, in the work of many theologians. Others, in a revulsion from traditional beliefs, sought a spiritual home in irreligious or anti-religious rational systems of philosophy. Both trends discovered in Buddhism a belief which denied the god of creation or of revelation, but possessed an ethic, which could be said to be based on reason.

Although this image of the Buddha, which in the last quarter of the 19th century became more and more clearly outlined, is no longer being accepted in its totality by any scholar, it cannot be ignored, since even today it is still quite influential. To a large extent this can be explained by the impact of the towering figure of Oldenberg, who in a superb and fascinating manner poured this image of Buddhism into a classical mould in his book which was first published in 1881. For countless numbers this book—of which the 13th reprint appeared in 1958—has been the fountainhead of wisdom. It offered a very carefully documented and reliable conception of Buddhism which was rooted in the best traditions of the last century. This is not the place to enter into a full discussion of Oldenberg's work. Since its publication it has been subject to many attacks. Hardly any feature of Oldenberg's picture of Buddhism is nowadays accepted. Yet, no new and different picture has been construed which can carry as much conviction for students and specialists. Research has been carried on and former insights and conceptions have been revised in many respects. Yet, the results of all this work have not yet been coordinated into a reliable synthesis. A partial explanation may be found in the progress of research, which steadily grows in scope and volume, so that a complete survey becomes

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more difficult as the years go by. The most important cause, however, must be sought else-where. In spite of many apparent contradictions the second half of the 19th century revealed a considerable consensus of opinion as to the world conception of scholars. This offered a favourable climate for fruitful scholarly research. Our age has lost this degree of homogeneity; the result is ever growing specialization. There is an increasing inability to acquaint oneself with new conceptions, approaches and methods which are being developed in other fields of research. This is particularly noticeable in those fields whose scholars are few in number, e. g. the field of Buddhist studies. Although the picture of Buddhism as conceived during the last century no longer prevails, there is an insufficient awareness of the need to apply new methods and insights. What progress has been achieved is due to the study of the ever-increasing source material by applying the methods of former days. Hence, we can also say as regards the study of the origin of Buddhism that the problem is still being handled with the methods of Oldenberg, i. e. there is still the attempt to explain the ideas of earliest Buddhism from the pre-Buddhist world of thought. Although it has long been recognized in many fields of research that a philosophy or religion cannot be studied outside the framework of the society in which it was born, Indologists have shown themselves insufficiently open to this approach. In far too many cases it is felt that political history, economics, sociology, religion and philosophy should be studied in isolation. There is also too strong an attachment to antiquated conceptions of history, which took their cue from the natural sciences in emphasizing the quest for causes. The only scholar since Oldenberg, who approached the study of Buddhism in an entirely new manner, was a non-specialist, the Great German sociologist Max Weber, who attempted a systematic study of the connection between religion and society in the second volume of his collected essays on the sociology of religion and in his principal work "*Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft.*" Although these studies of Weber were published over 40 years ago, almost no reference to his work can be found in the publications of specialists, let alone critical discussions. It is difficult to find more striking proof of the one-sided approach and interest of these scholars, whose excellent philological training cannot be doubted.

Admittedly, Max Weber used a relatively limited number of sources for his analysis of Buddhism; yet, we must concede that he showed excellent insight into many, important facets. Several of his ideas have been confirmed by the research of scholars who were not acquainted with his work. It is, of course, not very well possible to accept the results of his studies as definite.

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It will be necessary to scrutinize his theories by means of further studies of much more extensive source material than that used by Weber. He did not confine his studies to Buddhism in India, but also included later developments in Ceylon, Burma, Indo-China, China, Korea, Japan and Tibet. Within the limits of one hundred pages he could not do more than mention many things in passing. Many of his hypotheses were not founded upon extensive research and argument. In evaluating his work, we should emphasize his method rather than his theories, even though these theories were both valuable and fruitful.

It is certainly to be hoped that further studies of Buddhism and other Indian religions will continue Weber's work. As to the earliest period of Buddhism one can surely achieve new results, as many new sources have been discovered and studied in the century behind us. Present-day studies of early Buddhism no longer concentrate exclusively upon the Pāli-canon. Texts which had perished in India, but have been preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations are more and more being consulted. Hence, it is now possible to evaluate the Pāli-tradition by means of independent literary sources. Furthermore, a considerable amount of new material has been found in the course of archaeological excavation. Until recently very little was known about the period beginning with the eclipse of the prehistoric Harappa culture until the third century B. C. Recent excavations have contributed much to a better knowledge of this period. It is to be expected that future excavations will throw further light upon the period between 800 and 200 B. C., the period of the birth of Buddhism and its subsequent spread in large parts of India. Undoubtedly excavations have until now uncovered but little of the immense amount of evidence hidden in the soil of India.

On the basis of this new evidence and of earlier known data it is now possible to obtain a more correct picture of India as it was in the Buddha's days. During this era the centre of political developments shifted to the East, the area around Benares and Patna. The seat of Brāhmaṇa culture, situated near present-day Delhi in the West of India appears to have lost most of its former power. It is quite clear that in this area, the old domain of the Āryan tribes which had invaded India from the North West, new trends met with more resistance than in the East, where Āryan kings and Brāhmaṇa priests were but the thin upper crust imposed upon a predominantly non-Āryan population. In the East, a completely new pattern of political power was beginning to take shape in this period. The power of the feudal, landowning nobility was steadily waning, the former small states and kingdoms were being swallowed by ambi-

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tious warrior-kings, who strove to establish large, well-organized kingdoms. In the days of the Buddha the states of Kosala and Magadha in particular steadily extended their borders. These states were ruled by hereditary dynasties, who did not even belong to the old Kshatriya nobility as exemplified in the ruler of Kosala. These states were fundamentally different from the old small states which were ruled by an oligarchy of the nobility or by a king, who might be *primus inter pares*, but whose function did not automatically devolve upon his descendants. Some of these small states still existed in the days of the Buddha, e. g. his own country of birth, the small kingdom of the Śākya's at the foot of of the Himālaya. But they owed suzerainty to the ruler of Kosala and shortly afterwards lost their independence. Other small oligarchic states, e. g. the Malla and the Lichchhavi, were ruled by oligarchies of non-Āryan clans. It was their fate, too, to be conquered by their more powerful neighbours. The emergence of large, centralized states in the East of India brought also the establishment of big cities, which grew into centres of royal power and mercantile wealth. Excavations have shown that iron was first used in India in the 8th century B. C. The introduction of iron made the art of warfare much more effective and was also of great importance in the clearance of forests for agriculture. In his "*Introduction to the study of Indian history*" Kosambi correctly stresses the far-reaching consequences of the introduction of iron in the history of the Ganges plains. Iron implements made it possible to claim for agriculture the swamps and forests covering this region. In the days of the Buddha rice was grown on a large scale. This humid, tropical rice-growing country was markedly different from the old Āryan region in the West, which relied mainly on animal husbandry and the cultivation of wheat. The cultivation of the soil along the banks of the Ganges also had important effects upon trade and the emergence of cities. Rājagṛiha, the old capital of Magadha, which rapidly became the most powerful state of India, was situated 40 miles south of the Ganges in hilly country. The new capital, Pāṭaliputra arose on the banks of the Ganges near modern Patna. The Ganges, which was easily navigable, stimulated mercantile traffic by water and this probably caused the shifting of the site of the capital. Buddhist texts furnish clear evidence of the growing importance of shipping in this period, although the old trade routes overland retained their importance, as shipping could only serve those towns and villages which were situated along the navigable rivers. In those days trade assumed ever growing importance. Caravans and ships traversed great distances to transport goods from one place to another. Trade goods consisted predominantly of luxury articles, e. g. cosmetics, perfumes, fine linens, salt, precious

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stones, sandalwood etc., since trade in other goods was not profitable on account of the high costs of transport and the levying of many duties. It is self-evident that the emergence of strong and powerful states offered favourable conditions for the expansion of trade, which was no longer trammeled by the many levies imposed by local potentates. In the wake of trade came a growing need for money and many cities started minting their own coinage. Finds of coins in places far removed from the centres where they had been minted amply prove the territorial expansion of trade and the enormous distances traveled.

These profound changes in the political and social field were paralleled by considerable religious ferment. In the hands of the Brāhmaṇas the old Vedic religion had by this time been reduced to an extremely formalized ritualism, emphasizing rigid observance of the rules prescribed for the performance of the sacrificial rites. In Eastern India, however, the influence of Brahmanism was limited. People sought other ways by which to attain deliverance. Buddhist texts tell us about śramaṇa's, hermits, who retreated into the forests. Many religio-philosophical groups sprang up, too. They were led by wandering teachers, who preached all sorts of doctrines, ranging from the sublime to crass materialism. The majority of these sects were short-lived. The names of their teachers and doctrines are known to us from Buddhist and Jain texts. Three religious leaders, however, attained lasting fame, i e. the founders of Buddhism, Jainism and the system of the Ājīvika's. These three religions sprang up almost simultaneously in Eastern India and spread over the larger part of India. With the exception of Jainism, which is still alive today, especially in the Bombay area and in a few other places in Western India, they finally disappeared from the Indian continent.

No other period of India's history witnessed as much mental and spiritual activity as the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. The enormous political and social changes taking place in Eastern India during this period furnish a partial explanation. Another factor was the meeting of two cultures, the Brāhmaṇa culture of the Āryan conquerors and the culture of the autochthonous peoples, which influenced and fructified each other. In the absence of concrete data we are hardly able to form an idea of the character of the culture of the non-Āryan peoples. Many speculative theories have been put forward, which assumed too easily that anything which was not explicitly mentioned in Vedic literature should be classified as non-Āryan. However, this argument ought to be used cautiously. Notwithstanding the large volume of Vedic literature, we

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cannot possibly derive from it a complete image of the Āryan thought-world. There is a danger that we ascribe too much to the non-Āryan, autochthonous peoples; yet, we must also beware of underestimating the contribution of the original population of India. It should be borne in mind that Vedic literature sprang up and flourished on Indian soil in the course of many centuries. It has been demonstrated that the oldest portion of the *Ṛigveda* contains traces of non-Āryan influence. Although we should exercise great restraint in determining Āryan and non-Āryan elements, we can still attempt an acceptable sketch as long as the structural differences between the Āryan and non-Āryan societies are taken into account. Moreover, the many new trends emerging in this period contain so many new elements which are alien to Vedic literature, that we must make considerable allowances for the influence of autochthonous ideas.

It is, indeed, not feasible to enumerate all new ideas encountered during this period. The extant texts reveal such proliferation of ideas, that one is left with the impression that every thinkable or unthinkable proposition was experimented with. A few ideas, however, predominated and were expounded in several religio-philosophical systems. The doctrine of *ahiṃsā*, i. e. the avoidance of harm to all life, gained general acceptance. We should not be amazed that the rice-growing East of India gave birth to this doctrine instead of the Āryan motherland, where animal husbandry was one of the main props of the economy and animal sacrifices formed an integral part of Brāhmaṇa ritual. The doctrine of *karman*, which holds that actions committed in this life have their reward in future reincarnations, also gained general recognition during this period. The doctrine of *karman* was equally acceptable to those who recognized a Self, an *ātman*, as it was to the Buddhists who rejected the conception of *ātman*. This doctrine which had already penetrated the youngest strata of Vedic literature, is undoubtedly rooted in non-Āryan conceptions, which are found among many agricultural peoples. Buddhist literature reveals a preference for metaphors derived from agriculture. The act is compared to the seed, the outcome of the act with the fruit. The alms given to a monk are likened to the seeds sown in a fertile field. Systematic study of the metaphors used by the Buddha to clarify his ideas might help us in gaining a more profound grasp of the essence of Buddhism and in understanding its origin. Buddhist concepts have far too often been detached from their original form. In this respect, too, it would be commendable to come down to earth from the heaven of abstract notion. It should not be forgotten that the Buddha was not a philosopher, who composed tracts in the quiet of his study. He was a preacher, who taught his doctrines to all who were willing to listen.

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Buddhism adopted and developed both the doctrine of the *ahiṃsā* and of the *karman*. But it rejected asceticism, which was widely practised in those days. Scholars differ widely on the origins of asceticism in India. According to some, asceticism occurs even in the oldest Vedic document, the *Ṛigveda*. All later developments derived from this. Others hold that asceticism is a non-Āryan principle and essentially alien to Vedic culture, although Vedic culture underwent its influence in early times. The problem is further complicated by the fact that many are inclined to weld asceticism, yoga and shamanism together into one complex of notions and ideas. To do so is to bedevil the problem to such an extent that it becomes impossible to make any headway whatever. In order to extricate ourselves from this impasse it is necessary to distinguish clearly between the various forms of asceticism which are found in the texts. According to Vedic literature the aim of asceticism is the generation of *tapas*, i. e. heat, energy, which enables the ascetic to possess himself of supernatural powers and ecstasies. The ritualistic texts, the Brāhmaṇa's repeatedly describe Prajāpati's creation of the world and of man by means of *tapas*. Eliade has pointed out that this notion of the equivalence of power and heat can also be found among other Indo-European peoples. However, this conception is so deeply rooted in an archaic mentality that the non-Āryan peoples of India can hardly be assumed not to have been acquainted with the idea, even though we cannot adduce positive proof. The form of asceticism which we encounter in the days of the Buddha is, however, totally different. It is most extensively described in the texts of the Jains, who were the greatest competitors of the Buddhists. For the Jains asceticism is not primarily a means to power, but a method of purification from the tarnishing substance of sin. Carried to its ultimate consequences the Jains commit ritual suicide through prolonged fasting. It is quite evident that Jain asceticism is utterly different in its nature and purpose, although its techniques do not deviate from those used in Vedic asceticism. It curiously resembles the techniques of the blacksmith, who purifies and forges his iron in fire. The resemblance is even more pronounced if one takes into consideration that the Jains viewed all matter as animated and did not distinguish between physiological and psychological processes. Nor should it be forgotten that in those days, when the manipulation of iron had only recently been discovered, the blacksmith must have been a person possessed with great magical power. In other cultures, and even today among several tribes in India, we meet with similar attitudes.

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According to the legend the Buddha also practised asceticism until he recognized that asceticism would not lead to deliverance. The Buddha's rejection of asceticism cannot be separated from his conception of sin as the result of the passions and of ignorance, whereas the Jains thought of sin as a material substance. Buddhist thought catalogues deeds as deeds of the body, of the word and of the mind. The core of each category of deeds is not the deed itself, but the intention which motivates it. Such a system of intentionalist ethics had no room for asceticism, but it could admit yoga techniques, although not without thoroughly changing their character. One has totry to extract from the Buddhist texts a clear understanding of the yoga techniques as practised by the non-Buddhists, if one wants to gain a correct insight into Buddhist yoga. The yoga technique of the non-Buddhist was aimed at attaining a cataleptic condition in which all conscious activity was completely suspended. The Buddha taught that ignorance is the root of all evil and suffering. Hence, he could not see the attainment of catalepsis as desirable in itself, and he transformed yoga from a purely physiological technique into a method inducing a state of mental concentration, in which supreme insight into the nature of suffering is realized. Enlightenment acquired in this manner is not theoretical knowledge, but deliverance from suffering.

Buddhist yoga is characteristic of the ways in which Buddhism adopted and transformed autochthonous conceptions. The doctrine of *karman* acquired in a similar way the peculiar imprint of Buddhism. This doctrine, which originally may have been a belief in the rebirth of man, rooted in totemist notions, was rationalized by means of the law of cause and effect. The same thing happened in the field of ethics. In ethical matters the intention is the determining factor, which stands in sharp contrast with Jainism. This rationalization superimposed on spiritualization, which is so clearly discernible in Buddhism, most certainly owes much to Brahmanic culture, whose rationalistic approach is unmistakable; we need only think of the ritualistic theory and the sacral ancillary disciplines such as phonetics and grammar. Both Brahmanism and Buddhism set high store by correct thinking and correct acting. To the Brahmanic mind both are indispensable for a successful performance of the sacrificial rite. To the Buddhist correct thinking and acting are part of the path leading to deliverance from suffering. Buddhism changes the ritualistic precepts of Brahmanism into a means to attain deliverance. Thus Āryan and non-Āryan conceptions achieve in Buddhism a synthesis of which it can be said that a substratum of non-Āryan conceptions has been purified and further developed under the influence of Āryan rationalism.

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That Buddhism attained so much success must be ascribed to its ability to weld together the most valuable elements of the two cultures at a time when they first established intensive contacts into a harmonious doctrine which accorded with the spirit of the age. We cannot, of course, assume that large numbers of people left everything in order to follow the Buddha. Most adherents were laymen who provided the monks with food and clothing and listened to the teachings of the Buddha, who promised heaven and deliverance in a future life as the reward of their good deeds in the present. Religiously speaking, the laymen were not important to Buddhism. As the providers of the economic foundation of the community of the monks they were, however, most valuable. To follow the difficult path as taught by the Buddha is not possible for the layman. How can he cut all links with his life in the world, as is required from the monk ? If we wish to gain a better understanding of early Buddhism, we should try to ascertain who were the persons courageous enough to take the decisive step and find an explanation for their decision. Unfortunately, no statistical research on the social origins of the monks has been undertaken, although it should be possible to adduce statistical data from the information contained in the earliest Buddhist texts. It cannot, however, be doubted that the majority of the monks belonged to the upper strata of society, the castes of the Brāhmaṇa's, the Kshatriya's and the rich merchants. It should, of course, be remembered that conversions among the upper classes usually attract more attention. But in the case of Buddhism it can safely be assumed that the information given by the texts faithfully records the true facts. For Buddhism is an aristocratic doctrine of deliverance, making high ethical and intellectual demands. The Buddha emphatically states that he only shows the path, but that each and every one attains bodhi through his own efforts. The aim of Buddhism, deliverance from suffering by attaining the undefinable state of Nirvāṇa, would have a greater appeal for those who have come to know the vanity of worldly pleasures than for them who are not so privileged and hope for compensation in some kind of paradise. Finally, Buddhism is an individualistic doctrine. Emotional elements are utterly alien to it. To enter the community of monks is a juridicial act, devoid of initiation rites in the form of a magical act, as for instance baptism. Buddhism fights shy of ritual and, unlike Brahmanism, does not make use of an esoteric language, comprehensible to priests only. The Buddha preaches in the vernacular, not in order to descend to the common people, but because the listeners should attain enlightenment. Western scholars have said that the Buddha was a cold realist. This is utterly untrue. His compassion for mankind is clearly evinced from his

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desire to deliver man from suffering by showing him the path. Buddhism is sustained by an aristocratic, distant love for mankind, deriving from a truly aristocratic attitude of mind. There is no trace of attempts at coercion by means of emotionalism or magic ritual.

The intellectualistic character of the Buddhist doctrine of deliverance is in accordance with an age which saw the emergence of large kingdoms requiring a more rational organization of the state. The enhanced power of the ruler undermined the position of the aristocratic land owning nobility, who were deprived of their former prestige. The absolute ruler stood in need of officials, who owed their positions to him alone. Naturally, such officials were more easily found outside the caste of the Kshatriya's. In these circumstances the aristocratic doctrine of deliverance of the Buddha was capable of giving new meaning to the life of the Kshatriya who had lost his old security and privileges. The Brāhmaṇas found themselves in a similar position. A few found employment as priest at the royal court. But for most of them life became much more insecure because of the decline of their former employers and protectors, the Kshatriya's. Brahmanism itself was not flexible enough to be capable of adaptation to new conditions. Buddhism offered them an opening as religious specialists in a new guise. The merchant class, which grew increasingly prominent, could not but feel attracted by a doctrine which offered them a position superior to the one accorded by Brahmanism, where Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriya's predominated. Trade and commerce were not congenial to the Brāhmaṇa spirit with its emphasis on ritual purity, which might be endangered by distant travels. The intellectualistic features of Buddhism were also closer to a class which, in contrast to the landed nobility, was dependent on a monetary economy. Buddhist ethics emphasizing the acquisition of religious merit and the intention likewise earned the approval of merchants who urgently needed trust in each other for their transactions and a religious sanction for their acquisitions. The Buddha taught that actions, not birth were important. A class which had gained its prominence by their own effort must have welcomed such teaching.

This may suffice as an inevitably incomplete sketch of the beginnings of Buddhism and its place in the society of that age. It may be superfluous to remark that no incontrovertible proofs can be given, since we are engaged in composing a jig-saw puzzle of which most of the pieces are lost.

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TINY COINS OF MALWA

B. N. MUKHEKJEE

(Plate 1)

The object of this paper is to study a lot of 283 small coins recovered from the region of Ujjain in M.P. These were kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. R. K. Sethi of Indore. I am extremely grateful to him for this act of kindness.

Of these pieces, 168 are made of silver, and the rest (115) are made of a mixture of silver and copper, in which copper predominates. A few of these billon coins may originally have a thin coating of silver and apparently were intended for circulation as silver pieces.

The intended shape for these pieces was round. But a true circle was never obtained due to a defective method of stamping the blank with a die without taking proper care for stopping the flan from spreading under the blow. Each of these pieces bears a device or a few devices stamped on one side of it (from a single die ?). The other side of it is blank (PL. I. fig. 1).

The silver coins can be subdivided into three classes on the basis of their size (and weight). The average size of the coins (belonging to class I) is 5.5 mm. (5 mm.). The heaviest of them weighs 0.3642 gm. (PL. I. fig. 2). The size of the silver coins, which form class II, varies from 4.5 mm. (4 mm.) to 5.00 mm. 4.5 mm.). The weight of the heaviest piece of this class is 0.1984 gm. (PL. I. fig.3). The size of the coins of class III varies from 3.5 mm. (3 mm.) to 4 mm. (3.5 mm.). Their weight varies from 0.0600 to 0.1200 gm. (PL. I. fig. 4). A few pieces, which may form a variety of class III (class III A), weigh so low as 0.0446, 0.0458, 0.0554, 0.0584 gm., etc.

The largest billon pieces (which form class IV of the coins under study) have their size varying from 5 mm. (4.5 mm.) to 6 mm. (5.5 mm.). Their weight varies from 0.1404 gm. to 0.1742 gm. (PL. I. Fig. 5). The weight of the coins of class V ranges from 0.0610 to 0.1220 gm. Their size varies from 4 mm. (3.5 mm.) to 4.25 mm. (4 mm.) (PL. I. fig. 6). The smallest billon coins (of class VI) have their size ranging from 2.5 mm. (2 mm.) to 3.5 mm. (3 mm.). Their weight varies from 0.0314 gm. to 0.0486 mm. (PL. I. fig. 7).

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All these coins are stamped only on one side. They display a single device or a few devices (apparently not related to one another). The most important of them is a symbol consisting of an orb in the centre and having arrows and/or taurine symbols attached to it. Different varieties of this symbol may be noticed. Sometimes there are two concentric circles, the inner one being solid and the outer one hollow. Taurine symbols and arrows pointing outside are alternatively attached to the outside rim of the outer circle. On some coins only arrows or only taurine symbols are attached to the central orb, consisting of a solid (inner) circle and a hollow (outer) circle or only one hollow circle or only one solid circle. Most of the coins concerned do not display this device in question in its entirety, probably because the blanks were smaller than the dies employed for the minting.

Among other noticeable obverse types are "bull standing to r. and triskele and taurine symbol in the field", "bull standing to right and taurine and a half circle in the field," "a vase with leaves (?)" "a tree with leaves", "hollow cross", "hollow cross with one taurine symbol on each side of its lower arm", "hollow cross with an extra arm attached to the right side of the upper arm and having one taurine symbol on each side of its lower arm", "standing camel (?) and taurine and few other symbols in the field", "cross with a taurine symbol on the left of the lower arm", "hare running to r.", "triskele", "globules placed around a circle", "half-circles placed around a full circle" (with their circular portions attached to the outer side of the circle or placed near it), and a few uncertain devices.

The size, weight, and devices on these coins make them an interesting case for study. Tiny silver coins with comparable weight, size, and sometimes also devices have been discovered at Taxila,[1] and Jahangira (Peshawar district),[2] Nasik,[3] Maheswar,[4] Thathari (Bilaspur district)[5] and also apparently in the localities of Rawalpindi,[6] Kosam,[7] Bhilsa, Bhopal and Ujjain.[8] V. S. Agrawala noticed in his study of 74 tiny coins procured from different places (Jahangira, Bhilsa, Bhopal and Ujjain) that there were among them silver, copper (really billon ?) and silver-coated copper pieces.[9] Among 406 coins from the areas of Bhilsa, Ujjain and Bhopal, studied by V. S. Agrawala and P. L. Gupta, were silver, copper, silver-coated copper and few lead pieces.[10] The lot of tiny coins under study includes silver, billon and a few silver-coated billon pieces.

If the findspots are of any indication, these tiny coins were meant for circulation mainly in the territories now included in the northern section of

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Pakistan and in M.P. (India), particularly in the Malwa area. It is interesting to note that though same technique of minting was followed in both these territories for producing the coins in question, symbols on coins found in M.P., including those under study, are more neatly punched than those noticeable on coins discovered in Pakistan. In fact, the symbols on Taxilan pieces are punched so lightly that none of them is clearly visible.[11]

The different varieties of the first of the devices on the coins in question, which we have described above, are comparable with various types of the so-called "six-armed" symbol on Punch-marked coins. E.A.C. Walsh has observed that this "characteristic symbol of the Punch-marked coins definitely links them (*i. e. the tiny pieces*) as a constitutent part of their coinage"[12] (*Italics ours*).

Seventy-nine tiny coins were found in a hoard found at Bhir mound in Taxila. It also yielded 1055 Punch-marked coins "of the older type", 33 long bar coins, 2 coins of Alexander the Great, 1 of Philip Aridaeus and a well-worn Persian siglos.[13]

This hoard contained many coins in good state of preservation and some pieces in well-worn condition. The latter coins might have been in circulation for a considerable time before they were interred. Among the coins in mint-condition were the pieces struck by Alexander and Philip Aridaeus.[14]

Philip Aridaeus died in 317 B.C. This means that the hoard, containing one of his coins in mint-condition, might have been buried by the close of the 4th century B. C. And since this hoard also yielded 79 minute silver coins, specie of this type should have come into circulation by that time at least in the Taxila area or in the region for which they were minted. If this was really the case, coins of the type in question might have come into circulation in parts of the territory now in M. P., including the Malwa area, by the close of the 4th century B.C. Even if it is argued that the coins of this type originated in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent, its existence could have become known to the Malwa region by about the middle of the 2nd century B.C., when as the column of Heliodorus at Besnagar should indicate,[15] there were political contacts between Taxila and Vidisa (M.P.).[16]

Thus the minute coins of the type in question could have come into circulation in certain areas of Central India including the region now in Malwa by the 2nd century B. C. They could have remained there in circulation at

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least up to the end of the normal period of currency of Punch-marked coins, with which they were related typologically and also technologically.

This inference about the period of their circulation helps us in determining their denominations. Coins of class II, the heaviest of which are 0.1984 gm. or roughly 3.1714 grains, may be considered as silver Māshakas, each of which, according to Manu, "should be considered as equal to 2 rattis (or *about 1.66*× 2=*3.32 grains*)[17] in weight"[18] *(Italics ours)*. Sixteen such Māshakas were equal in value to one silver Dharaṇa or Purāṇa,[19] also known as Kārshāpaṇa or paṇa.

Billon coins of class IV, weighing from 0.1404 to 0.1742 gm., were apparently intended to be passed as silver Māshakas.

The weight of the heaviest of the pieces belonging to class I, is 0.3642 gm. or roughly 5.8272 grains. The coins of this class may be considered as *Dvimāshaka* or Double Māshaka coins, and may be taken to be the same as *Ashṭabhāgapaṇa* (or $\frac{1}{8}$th of a paṇa) mentioned by Kauṭilya.[20] According to Babu Durga Prasad, M. F. C. Martin's collection included several such double Māshaka coins.[21]

Coins of class III, whose weight varies from 0.0600 to 0.1200 gm. or roughly from 0.9600 to 1.9200 grains, may be taken as representing Ardha-māshaka or Half Māshaka pieces.[22] Coins of class V, which weigh from 0.610 to 0.1220 gm. or roughly from 0.9760 to 1.9520 grains, were also apparently intended to be circulated as Half-Māshaka coins.

As we have recorded above, the pieces belonging to class IIIA, weigh so low as 0.0446 gm. (or roughly 0.7136 grain), 0.0554 gm. (or roughly 6.8864 grain), etc. They seem to have been meant to carry half of the weight and value of silver Half-māshaka coins. The *Arthaśāstra* refers to a variety of copper coins called Kākaṇī, each of which, as it appears from the context, was equal in value and weight to half of copper Ardha-Māshaka coins.[23] On the basis of the analogy of the copper Kākaṇī pieces, we may, following V. S. Agrawala,[24] call the coins in question as silver Kākaṇī coins.

The weight of the billon coins of class VI varies from 0.0308 gm. to 0.0486 gm. or roughly from 0.5024 grain to 0.7776 grain. They might have been meant for circulating as Kākaṇī coins. It is, however, not impossible that the lightest pieces belonging to this series of coins were minted as Ardha-Kākaṇī or Half-Kākaṇī coins. The *Arthaśāstra* speaks of copper Ardha-Kākaṇī

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coins.[25] Here we may have examples of what used to be passed as silver Ardha-Kākaṇī pieces.

If the silver and billon coins of identical weight were meant to carry the same value as media of exchange, then they must be considered to have been struck in different districts and/or different periods. The billon coins of a particular denomination might have been struck simultaneously with silver coins of identical denomination; but they should have been used in transactions in a district where the value of silver was higher than that obtainable in the district where silver coins were in regular circulation. On the other hand, if the silver and billon pieces are to be attributed to different dates, the latter coins may be taken to have been struck sometime after the introduction of silver coins of the denominations in question and when the value of the silver became so high that minting of comparatively pure silver coins was considered uneconomic by minting authorities. That the authorities were capable of cheating the general public is indicated by the existence of a few silver-coated copper coins of the relevant size and weight noticed earliar. These were apparently meant to be passed as silver coins.

The two hundred and eightythree tiny Māshaka and kindred coins throw interesting light on the history of the coinage of the territory now known as Malwa, where they were once in circulation. That these coins were specially popular in this area is indicated by the fact that about two-third of the known specimens have been unearthed in this region. Specimens of Dvi-Māshaka, Māshaka, Ardha-Māshaka and Kākaṇī and also Ardha-Kākaṇī coins are included in the collection in question. V. S. Agrawala noticed coins of these denominations and also *Trī-kākaṇi* coins among the pieces examined by him.[26] All these coins were apparently sub-multiples of silver Kārshāpaṇas or Purāṇas, as 16 silver Māshakas were considered equal in value to one Purāṇa or Dharaṇa.[27]

Coins of the type concerned might have come into circulation by the 4th century B. C. (or by the middle of the 2nd century B. C.) or at least by the time when the silver punch-marked pieces or Kārshapaṇa coins had already begun to be used regularly as media of exchange.[28] The coins in question were apparently used by people to pay for the materials of comparatively lesser value. Standard of life was perhaps comparatively cheaper in the Malwa region. Moreover, the existence of these coins in Malwa and in a few other territories should indicate brisk trading activities, which involves smaller transa-

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ctions, in those areas during the period or periods of circulation of Punch-marked coins.[29]

V. S. Agrawala thought that the coins of minute weight and value had been issued by the authorities concerned in order to enable the public to pay taxes "on mass scale" even on trivial items.[30] Even if this was one of the reasons for striking such coins, the people must be considered to have been habituated to handle enough amount of such type of specie through trade and commerce to be able to pay these coins "on mass scale" as taxes.

We cannot be very much sure about the status of the authorities who minted these tiny coins. The state or guilds or some other private agencies or all of them (simultaneously or one after another) could have issued these coins.

The size and weight of these tiny coins perhaps left some permanent impression on the indigenous currency system of the Malwa area. As Late as in 1375 V. S. or A. D. 1318 Ṭhakkura Pheru in his *Dravya-Parīkshā* alludes to tiny coins of Malwa. In the section of his treatise, which deals with the coins of Mālava (or the Malwa area), there are references *inter-alia* to two types of coins called Ravālagā and Sivagaṇā. It is stated that "the Ravālagā coins contain 1 tolā, 8 māshas of silver per 100 specimens; their rate is 56 per Taṅkā. The Sivagaṇā coins contain 1 tolā, 3 māshas of silver per 100 specimens. Their rate is 75 per Ṭaṅkā."[31] It appears from the above statement that the weight of a Ravālagā coin was about [(1 x 96) + (8 x 2)] = 112 *ratis* x 1.66 = 185.92 + 100 =] 1.85 grains. The usual weight of Sivagaṇā coin should have been about [(1 x 96) + (6 x 2) = 110 *ratis* x 1.66 = 179.28 grains + 100 =] 1.79 grains. The theoretical weight of the silver coins called Ravālagā (plural of the term *Ravālaga* < *Ravakālagna* meaning "adhered to the weight of pearls"), and also of the silver pieces called Sivagaṇā (plural of the term *Sivagaṇa* meaning" auspicious multitudes or series or class (of coins)"?] should, therefore, have been nearly the same as that of the silver Half-Māshaka coins of an earlier period.

According to the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā,* a collection of thirty pearls weighing a Dharaṇa, was called Ravaka. Hence it can be suggested that thirty pearls of Ravaka variety were equal in weight to one Dharaṇa.[32] Hence the theoretical weight of a Dharaṇa would have been (30 × 1.85 =) 55.50 grains. This was almost the same as the weight of a Kārshāpaṇa, with which the weight of Māshaka was related. We may therefore assume that in the 14th century Malwa small coins, based on the old system of Māshaka specie, were in use, probably on an unofficial scale.[33] This inference perhaps goes against the

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theory of V. S. Agrawala that tiny coins like Māshaka were not used after the expected normal period of their circulation.

The upshot of the discussion is that tiny coins of Mālwa, which were minted in silver, copper and also billon, formed an important part of currency of that region in an early period. It left its legacy in the local currency system.

References

1. E.H.C. Walsh, *Punch-Marked Coins from Taxila, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 59. p. 3. 2. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. XIII, p. 164.
3. *Ibid.*, vol. XIX, p, 184. 4. *Ibid*, vol. XVI, pp. 36f.
5. J. Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 286-287; *JNSI*, vol. XIX, pp. 110f. 253 coins were discovered at Thathari. 6. *JNSI*, vol. VIII, p. 43. 7. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
8. 459 (53+406) minute coins from these areas have already been noticed (*Ibid.*, vol. XIII, p. 164; vol. XVI, pp. 14f). 9. *Ibid.*, vol. XIII, p. 165.
10. *Ibid.*, vol. XVI, p. 19. 11. *Ibid.*, vol. XIII, p. 165.
12. E.H.C. Walsh, *op. cit.*, p. 4. 13. J. Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. II, pp. 843-845.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 843. 15. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports*, 1908-9, p 126.
16. It is interesting to note that the Mālavas, who struck *inter alia* coins of small denominations (weighing 2.5, 2.6, 3.4 grains, etc.) from about the middle of the 3rd or rather 2nd century B.C. to about the middle of the 4th century A.D., in a territory now included in South-eastern Rajasthan, might have originally hailed from the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent. The area later named after them as Mālava (Malwa) was situated not very far from the country of the Mālavas in Rajasthan.
17. *JNSI*, vol. XXXII, p. 138. For a full discussion on the problem of determining the weight of a *raktikā*, see *ibid.*, pp. 131f. 18. *Manu Samhitā*, VIII. 135.
19. *Ibid.*, VIII. 136. 20. Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, 2, 12. 21. *JNSI*, vol. VIII, p. 42.
22. *JNSI*, vol. XIII, 167. Pāṇini referred to *adhyardha-māsha* (in *sūtra* V, I, 34), i.e. one and half māsha. This indicates that there was a class of coins called Ardha-Māsha. These were, however, copper coins (V.S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 268). Kauṭilya also mentioned *Ardha Māshaka* copper coins (2, 12).
23. Kauṭilya, *op. cit.*, 2, 12. 24. *JNSI*, vol. XIII, pp. 166-167.
25. Kauṭilya, *op. cit.*, 2, 12. 26. *JNSI*, vol. XVI, p. 15. 27. *Manu*, VIII. 136.
28. For different views on the chronology of Punch-marked coins, see. A.K. Narain and L. Gopal (editor) *The Chronology of Punch-Marked Coins*, pp. 1f.
29. *Ibid.* 30. *JNSI*, vol. XVI, p. 18.
31. Thakkura Pheru, *Dravya-Parīkshā*, 99; *Dr. Ghulam Yazdani Commemoration Volume*, pp. 94-95.
32. Varāhamihira, *Bṛihat-Samhitā* LXXXI, 17; M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1951), pp. 868-869.
33. Were these known in the early Mediaeval age as *vimśopaka* coins, which were equal in value to $\frac{1}{20}$th of a Dramma ? (V.V. Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. IV, p. CLXXXIX, f. n. 7; *EI*, vol. X, p. 19, f. n. 3).

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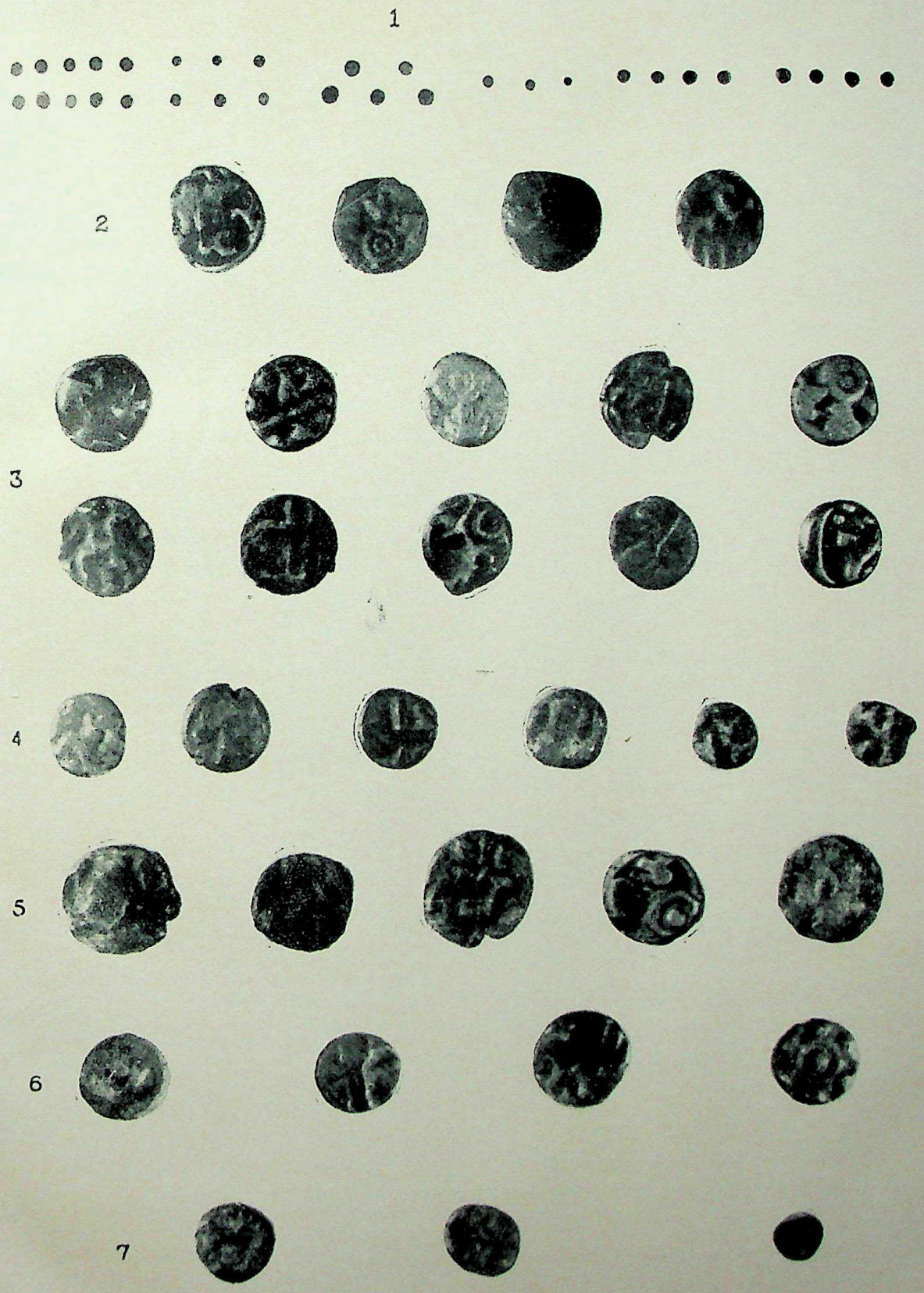
PLATE I



Tiny Coins of Malwa

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THE RELIGIOUS LEANINGS OF THE GUPTAS

JAI PRAKASH SINGH

The religious position of the first three Gupta kings—Śrīgupta, Ghaṭotkacha and Chandragupta I—known mainly from the records of their successors is not known for certain. Śrīgupta, identified with Che-li-ke-to, mentioned by I-tsing, is said to have built a temple near Mṛigaśikhāvana for Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, and endowed it with 24 villages. This may not, however, show that the king was a Buddhist. But if later family tradition is any criterion for such a determination, it can well be said that they too were Vaishṇavas. However, the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī coin type, attributed to Chandragupta I,[1] possibly, shows his being a Vaishnavite Hindu. These coins, however, do not contain the *Garuḍadhvaja*, so frequently found on several types of the succeeding Gupta kings. But it contains the figure of a goddess seated on lion and holding a noose and a cornucopiae in her r. and l. hands respectively.[2] This reverse motif is a copy of a type of Kanishka, but there is no evidence to show that the Simhavāhinī depicted here "was the tutelary deity of the Lichchhavis" as suggested by some scholars.[3] Had she really been the 'tutelary deity' of the Lichchhavis, Chandraguta II and Kumāragupta I[4] may not have got her portrayed on their Lion-slayer types. That this Simhavāhinī goddess is a form of Lakshmī seems almost certain. This identification is confirmed by the attributes of Ardoksho, her Kushāṇa counterpart, which she holds in her hands. Later literature and sculptures confirm the Simhavāhinī form of Lakshmī.[5] She was chosen for depiction by Chandragupta to mark the dawn of Lakshmī on the House of the Guptas. Her depiction indirectly favours his Vaishnavite leanings. The Brahmanical leanings of the king are confirmed though indirectly by two copper plate grants of his son and successor Samudragupta. In these records, mention is made of the grant of a village each, to two Brāhmaṇas by Samudragupta, with the object of securing religious merit for his parents and himself.

Samudragupta

Samudragupta is called as "the supporter of the real truth of the scriptures,"[6]... and was termed as equal to the gods "Dhanada and Varuṇa

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and Indra and Antaka."[7] Further, it is said that his fame was increased, among other things by the "(study of) the precepts of the scriptures."[8]

The spurious Gaya copper plate inscription compares Samudragupta with the said Hindu deities and mentions him as *Kṛitānta-paraśuḥ*, which as an epithet of the king, occurs on his coins of the Battle-axe type also. It also refers to the donor aspect of the king[9] stating him as "the giver of many millions of lawfully acquired cows and gold", and as the restorer of Aśvamedha-sacrifice.[10] The inscription records the grant of a village Revatikā, in the Gaya Vishaya, as an *agrahāra*, to the Brāhmaṇa Gopasvāmin, of the Bhāradwāja gotra and the Bahvṛicha Śākhā, by Samudragupta for the religious merit of his parents and himself.[11] His spurious Nalanda copper plate inscription records the statements similar to those in the Gaya copper plate, together with the grant of a village to a Brāhmaṇa for the religious merit of his parents and his own.[12]

It seems from the foregoing evidences that there is nothing definite to refer to the religious associations of Samudragupta. He has no religious title, like some of his successors who used to style themselves as *paramabhāgavatas*. There is no doubt though that Samudragupta himself was a Brahmanist. For, he is not only compared with at least four Brahmanical deities, but is also said to have surpassed divinities like Kaśyapa, Tumbaru and Nārada[13] etc. Again, in the Eran stone inscription, he claims to have superceded such Brahmanical heros as Pṛithu and Rāghava[14] in "giving gold". These and other like statements collected from the records of the dynasty doubtless indicate that the ideal before Samudragupta was Brahmanical in nature. This statement is well suported from his coin-legends.

Four out of six of his gold-types present politico-military coin-types, these are the Standard, the Archer, the Battle-axe and the Aśvamedha types. But only one of these types–the Battle axe–presents a legend which is purely political or rather military in nature. All other obverse legends refer to his winning of the heaven. The legends concerned are herewith given below type-wise.[15] These are—(1) Standard type—*Samaraśata Vitata Vijayo-jitaripurajito divaṁ jayati*; (2) Archer type-*Apratiratho vijitya kshitim sucharitair* (or *avanīśo*) *divaṁ jayati*; (3) Battle-axe-*Kṛitāntaparaśurjayatyajitarājajetājitaḥ*; (4) Aśvamedha-*Rājādhirājah pṛithivīmavitvā* (or *vijitya*) *divaṁ javatyāhṛita-vājimedhaḥ*. The first two of these legends, being of purely military-type coins, normally should not contain a reference to the winning of the heaven. The third legend, that of the Battle-axe, puts forth no such claim. Therefore, what was exactly meant by

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the phrase *divaṁjayati* on these two types needs an explanation. The king in ancient works was regarded as the upholder of the law or *dharma*, down from the Vedic times.[16] The *Mahābhārata*[17] also says that the king is for the upholding of the *Dharma* and not for acting in a manner he prefers to. In the *Mārakaṇḍeya Purāṇa*,[18] the grand mother of king Marutta warns him saying that the king's body is not meant for the physical enjoyments of life but for experiencing great trouble in protecting the earth and performing his duties. We do not feel, that these were the only duties, due to the performance of which Samudragupta was claiming the conquest of heaven. It is said by Kauṭilya[19] that a conqueror should reinstate the dead king's heir in his territory. He should protect the vanquished territory as his own, respect its customs, laws and usages.[20] *Vishṇudharmasūtra*[21] also states that the conqueror should not uproot the usages of the vanquished land, should instal a member of the slain king's family on the throne, provided it was not of low origin. Manu[22] and *Agni Purāṇa*[23] prescribe a similar set of rules. Samudragupta being called a "supporter of the real truth of the scriptures" and a keen student of "the precepts of the scriptures" can well be said to have followed these textual guide-lines. This is further confirmed from the fact that he not only installed some of the defeated kings in their territories but returned their gifts and tributes by doubling them alongwith his orders to them to rule in their territories. Thus, we think the legends mentioned above refer to these of Samudragupta's acts on the merits of which he was claiming a conquest of the heaven. Therefore, these legends may be connected with his wars waged in the Dakshiṇāpatha. If the coins of Kācha be taken as the issues of Samudragupta, its legend *Kāchogāmavajitya karmmabhiruttamair divaṁ jayati* would go with this very class of legends. But its reverse legend *sarvvarājochchhetuḥ* has certainly to be connected with the policy reflected by coins of the Battle-axe type.

However, nearer home, he followed the policy of total extermination, and annexed to his own kingdom the principalities conquered. None of the princelings were spared hence his Battle-axe type legend refers only to his conquest of till then unconquered kings. According to ancient texts one who follows the duties prescribed for him goes to heaven and the king was no exception to this rule. These legends indirectly prove that Samudragupta following his kingly duties well in accordance with the dictates of political theorists, claims the winning of the heaven.

The legend of the Aśvamedha type, however, refers to the performance of the horse sacrifice and then claims the winning of the 'Heaven after protect-

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ing (or conquering) the earth.'[24] This also confirms the suggestion made above. But the religious merits accruing from the performance of the horse sacrifice may also be hinted at. The variation in the legend may be due to the fact that the performance of this sacrifice was also 'a test of military strength of the *Aśvamedhaparākramaḥ*'. All coins, on the obverse, below the horse, contain *Si*, supposed to be an abbreviation of the auspicious word-formulae, *Siddhaṃ*. The horse is decorated in accordance with the textual prescriptions.[25] According to Altekar "the platform on which the horse is shown as standing is the *vedī* or altar; the base of the *yūpa* (sacrificial post) to which it was tied, is usually seen partly within the alter and partly outside it. The *Taittirīya Samhitā* (VI. 6. 4.) states that if the *yūpa* was fixed entirely within the *vedī*, the sacrificer will win only the world of gods, if it was completely outside the *vedī*, he will win the world of men, but that if it was partly within and partly outside the *vedī*, the sacrificer will win both the worlds."[26] Hence it may be suggested that Sumudragupta may himself have suggested his mint-masters to depict the *yūpa* partly within and partly outside the *vedī*. Besides, "the Aśvamedha sacrifice was performed not only to extend and confirm the sovereignty of the king, but also to bring spiritual and material blessings on the kingdom. It was a method of enhancing the possibilities of offspring as well as a rite of religious purification. It was felt to bring very great advantages to the kingdom and not only to strengthen the kingship, but also to promote the fertility and prosperity of the country and its peoples."[27] Thus it was both a political as well as a religious sacrifice.

Whatever be the real purpose of the horse sacrifice, it certainly is a feature of the Brahmanical politico-religious ideology and is not to be met with in the philosophies of the Jainas and the Buddhists. Thus, Samudragupta who was a follower of the Brāhmaṇa religion as prevalent in his time, claimed to rule in accordance with the law. This is made clear by his attitude towards the scriptures, the Aśvamedha, his coin legends and the depiction of Gangā on the reverse of his Tiger-slayer coins.[28]

His particular Brahmanical faith, however, seems to have been Vaishnavism. His Vaishnavite leaning is indicated by the use of Garuḍadhwaja[29] on his coins. The depiction of Lakshmī,[30] the consort of Vishṇu, on the reverse of most of his coin-types in gold, lends support to this suggestion. The doubtful Kācha coins contain a Chakradhwaja[31] on the obverse in l. hand of the king. Chakra being an attribute of Vishṇu may indicate its issuers Vaishṇava leanings. The evidence of the Eran Stone pillar inscription also

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indirectly suggests the Vaishnavite affiliations of its king. The inscription in its present condition fails to provide 'any clue as to what was erected and in connection with what form of religion'. However, its shape and appearance shows it to be the part of a temple built in stone.[32] Cunningham held that it possibly belonged to a temple with a colossal image of Lord Vishṇu,[33] situated closely to the north of the Varāha temple. If the suggestion referred to above be correct it can possibly be surmised that the temple may have been constructed by Samudragupta. If the ascription of *Kṛishṇacharitra* to Samudragupta[34] be accepted as historically valid it will also be in line with the arguments making him a Vaishṇava.

That Samudragupta was a tolerant ruler is indicated by the flourishing conditions of Jainism, Buddhism and the Brahmanical sects during the period. According to the Chinese sources Samudragupta permitted the emissaries of the Ceylonese king Meghavarṇa to build a monastery and a rest house for the Ceylonese monks at Bodhgaya.[35] This shows clearly that Samudragupta observed a policy of religious toleration and possibly treated all religions alike.

Rāmagupta

Till recently the historicity of Rāmagupta, the elder brother of Chandragupta II, known mainly from *Devīchandraguptam*, was doubted.[36] But the discovery of two image inscriptions from Vidisa, with his name prefixed by *mahārājādhirāja*, at least partially, prove his rule. The region of Vidisa has also yielded some copper coins of a Rāmagupta or gupta.[37] These coins are of two types—Lion and Garuḍa. These motifs-especially the Garuḍa-indicate his being a Vaishṇava. The images, whose dedicatory inscriptions bear the name of Rāmagupta, are of Jaina divinities, and bear some evidence to the religious tolerance of the king.[38]

Chandragupta II

Chandragupta II seems to have inherited all the family traditions established by two of his illustrious predecessors—Chandragupta I and Samudragupta. In the Mathura stone inscription the king is specifically mentioned as *paramabhāgavata*.[39] The purpose of this epigraph is not known. Another inscription of the king from Mathura, supposed to be the earliest record of his reign[40] does not refer to Chandragupta by his religious-title *paramabhāgavata*. This title of the king is again mentioned in the Gadhawa stone inscription[41] of his reign dated in GE 88. This inscription records[42] the

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donation of 10 dināras each, by a certain Māṭṛidāsa and possibly his wife, to a *Sadā-sattra* of the Brāhmaṇas, and repeatedly states that whosoever shall interfere with this *dharma-skandha* or 'branch of religion', shall become guilty of the *pañcha mahāpātakas.*[43] These inscriptions thus seem to be all Brahmanical in both nature and spirit. However, the kind of association of Chandragupta with the Gadhawa inscription or its issuers is not known for certainty. The first Mathura stone inscription being issued by Chandragupta II may presummably also be a Brahmanical record.

Some of Chandragupta's coin-legends prove his being a Hindu ruler. The obverse legend of his Chhatra coins (class II) contains *Kshitimavajitya sucharitairdivam jayati vikramādityaḥ*[44]; the legend on his Standard type is *Vasudhāṃ vijitya jayati tridivaṃ pṛithivīśvaraḥ (puṇyaiḥ).*[45] These are the only legends in which Chandragupta claims to win the heaven by his meritorious deeds. His meritorious deeds are the protection of the earth and may be some of his less known conquests. Samudragupta's all conquering nature is not met with here. But Chandragupta uses many regal titles which show that his kingship was established firmly. These legends, however, confirm his belief in Hinduism in general.

The Udaigiri inscription of the year GE 82 begins with the auspicious word *Siddhaṃ* and records the 'religious gift' of a Sanakānīka Mahārāja probably a governor of Paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandragupta.[46] This Sanakānīka ruler belonged possibly to a line of Vaishṇava tribal chiefs. The anonymous Sanakānīka king himself professed Vaishnavism, as is indicated by his two groups of images—1) of four armed Vishṇu with his two wives and 2) an image of Lakshmī with twelve arms. The cave, thus, was a Vaishṇava dwelling, and so was the inscription.[47] This record has absolutely nothing about the faith of Chandragupta but shows that there were Vaishṇavas among his officers.

Chandragupta II, doubtless, was a devout worshipper of the Lord Bhagavata, is borne out rather too well by his extensive coinage. He uses the title *paramabhāgavata* on many of his coin-types.[48] The reverse of the King and Queen on couch type shows the figures of them both seated on a couch, facing each other. This, according to M. C. Joshi[49] is the depiction of some divine couple. He states that "most probably this is the representation of Lakshmī with his *(sic)* spouse; for, Vishṇu was considered as the Supreme Lord by early Gupta kings, who were all *paramabhāgavatas.*"[50] The article held in the r. hand of the male figure, the supposed *Sindūrdānī* of Altekar,[51] is identified

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by Joshi as conch which he takes to confirm his identification of the figures with "Śrī and Vishṇu."[52]

Another depiction of a Vaishṇava nature is provided by the obverse of the Chakravikrama type of the king. Its obverse shows king Chandragupta II receiving a divine gift in the shape of three round objects, from the *Chakrapurusha*, standing within a two-rimmed oval wheel, holding a *gadā* in the left and the round objects in his right hand.[53] This divine figure has rightly been identified[54] with the *Chakrapurusha*, a personification of the *Chakra* of Vishṇu. The *Chakrapurusha* is highly extolled in the *Ahirabudhanyasamhitā*. *Chakrapurusha* was identified at times with Vishṇu himself.[55] The king was supposed to have received the three royal Sakti's—*prabhu*, *utsāha* and *mantraśakti*—from the god. I have a feeling that the round objects do not represent the three Śaktis, but the three traditional worlds. The textual statement that the human figure inside the Chakra is known as *Chakravarti*, and the king who worships the *Chakrapurusha*, himself becomes a Chakravarti,[56] seems pertinent in this connection. Chandragupta was, therefore, asserting his *chakravartittva*. V. S. Agrawala says that the Pāñcharātra Bhāgavatas used this new concept of their faith to influence "the political thought and ideals of kingly power"[57] and possibly won many supporters of their religion.

The *Garuḍadhvaja* occurs on the Archer, King and Queen on couch and Standard types;[58] silver coins contain the figure of the Garuḍa bird on the reverse;[59] the Garuḍa also occurs on most varieties of his copper coins,[60] again on the reverse. It should not be out of place, to mention here, that according to the Meharauli pillar inscription,[61] he also installed a Garuḍadhvaja at Vishṇupada somewhere in South-Eastern Punjab.[62]

Next indication of the Vaishnavite bearing of the king is betrayed by his adoption of the Goddess Lakshmī on the reverse of his coins. Lakshmī is portrayed on Archer, Horseman, Chhatra, Couch, Standard and Chakravikrama types in gold;[63] and the Archer[64] type in copper. The Goddess Lakshmī on Chandragupta's Lion-slayer type is usually a *simhavāhinī* deity.[65] This reverse type is already known to us from the only known type of Chandragupta I. Earlier she was identified as Durgā, on the basis of her mount.[66] Altekar, however, thought that "her mount would suggest that she is intended to be Durgā, but usually she is also shown as holding a lotus in her left hand; so the intention of representing her as Lakshmī cannot be altogether excluded."[67] But now it has conclusively been proved that she is Lakshmī-simhavāhinī,[68] a

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Vaishṇava deity. This latter identification of the deity seems to be correct. These points suggest clearly that Chandragupta was a Vaishṇava by faith.

Śaivism, another Brahmanical faith, seems to have enjoyed the toleration of Chandragupta II. The Mathura inscription of GE 61 = A. D. 380 refers to the Māheśwara sect of the Śaivas, and its teacher called Uditāchārya.[69] The inscription also mentions the names of the predecessors of Uditāchārya as Kapila-vimala, Upamita-vimala, and Pārāśara. Uditāchārya was the 4th from Pārāśara and 10th from Bhāgavat-Kuśika, the founder of this sect. Kuśika appears in the *Vāyu* and *Linga Purāṇas*, as the first pupil of Lakuli, an incarnation of Śiva Maheśvara.

The purpose of the epigraph was to record the installation of Upamiteśvara and Kapileśvara in the *guruāyatane* or 'the Hall of the Teachers,'[70] for the sake of his religious merit by Uditāchārya, as well as for the *Kīrti* of his *gurus*. It is supposed that this refers to the installation of the Lingas and images. It was intended for the Māheśvaras, and was expected to be maintained by worship, gifts and offerings.

Another Śaiva record of the reign, is from Udaigiri. It records "the excavation of the cave as a temple of the god Śiva, under the mame of Śambhu, by Vīrasena Śāba, a minister of Chandragupta II, from Pāṭaliputra.[71] The inscription beginning with *Siddhaṃ* states that Vīrasena Śāba "came here, accompanied by the king in person,....and through devotion towards the divine (god) Śambhu, he caused this cave to be made."[72] The king may have been camping around with his army and high officers. A. S. Altekar's suggestion that the altar on a Chhatra coin[73] of Chandragupta 'looks like a *Sivalinga* with its *archa*'[74] is incorrect. There is no doubt regarding its being an usual altar.

Yet another record of an officer of Chandragupta II is found from Sanchi, a famous centre of Buddhism in M. P. This is a Buddhist inscription[75] according to some scholars and the donor Āmrakārddava too is believed to be a Buddhist.[76] The inscription beginning with *Siddham* mentions the purchase and gift of the village, Īśvaravāsaka, "with the endowment of Maja and Amrarāta of the royal household, and (also gives) twenty-five dināras." It is further expressed that from the half of the interest of the money left, five Bhikshus be fed and a lamp be burn in the 'jewel house', i. e. in the stūpa, the abode of Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha, the three jewels. From the other half of the interest another group of five Bhikshus were to be fed and a lamp was to burn in the jewel house.[77] The donation was thus made by Āmrakārddava not only for himself but also for some others, may be the members of the royal house-

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hold referred to above, or for king Chandragupta II himself, the latter possibility seems to be nearer the truth as the name of the king appears in the context of the first feeding of Bhikshus. It is not clear, however, as to which 'royal family, Maja, Śarbhanga and Amrarāta belonged. They may have however, been Buddhists. The inscription ends with Hindu imprecatory formulae- 'whosoever shall interfere with this arrangement-he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the slaughter of a cow or of a Brahman, and with (the guilt of) the five sins that entail immediate retribution.'[78] The last five sins of this list may be the well known *mahāpātakas* occurring in most epigraphs of a grant-nature. The opening formulae of the inscription, i. e. *Siddhaṃ*, also possibly indicates that the drafting of the inscription at least was done by a Hindu writer.

The inscription, however, indicates that Chandragupta was a tolerant ruler. Āmrakārddava may or may not have been a Buddhist himself but the inscription would have us believe that his sympathies were with the faith of the Buddha. Thus, Chandragupta's high officers professed different faiths, a fact that suggests the catholic attitude of the king. Whatever be the actual religion of Āmrakārddava, it appears certain from Fa-hien's account of Buddhism in Mid-India that it was in a flourishing condition under Chandragupta II.[79] There may have been others among his officers, like Vīrasena Śāba, professing other religions as well. This is enough to point out his tolerance. The *paramabhāgavata* title of the king is not met with in non-Brahmanical records of his time, not even in those of his own officers. This shows that the king favoured religious toleration taking it to be the pure concern of the individuals. It was this secular nature of the Gupta kingship that allowed individuals to omit the religious title of the Guptas from their non-Brahmanical records. This was being followed also by the high state officers; a fact which confirms that there was no fear of incurring the displeasure of the king by doing so.

Kumāragupta I

Many dated and undated records of the reign of Kumāragupta I are known. But the religious matter contained in them at the most only shows the flourishing condition of the particular religions or sects thereof, as in the case of his father Chandragupta II.

The now undated (due to mutilation) Gadhawa inscription of Kumāragupta mentions two gifts, one of ten and the other of an uncertain number or three dīnārs to a *sattra* or alms house. The reference to the *sattra*, the

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beginning of the record with *jitam bhagavatā*, and the mention of the *pañcha mahāpātakas* towards the close, all point to its being a Brahmanical record.[80] This is further confirmed by the fact that this inscription was found 'immediately below the preceding (i.e. Gadhawa) inscription of Chandragupta II,'[81] which definitely seems to be a Brahmanical record.

The other dated (GE 98 = A.D. 417) Gadhawa inscription of this reign is supposed to begin with the same formulae—*jitaṃ bhagavatā*—as above. It records the donation of 12 dīnārs to a *sadā-sattra*, and seems to have contained the imprecatory formulae *pañcha mahāpātakaiḥ samyuktaiḥ syād-iti*, only the last two words of which have partly and fully survived mutilation.[82] This too, thus, seems to be a Brahmanical record. The restored readings of the two inscriptions refer to Kumāragupta as *Paramabhāgavata.*

The Dhanaidaha copper plate inscription of GE 113, of Kumāragupta's reign refers to the gift of a piece of land by an Āyuktaka, a local government officer in the district, to a Sāmavedin Brāhmaṇa[83] called Varāhasvāmin.

The two land grants from Damodarpur[84] dated in 443 A. D. and 447 A.D. record the sale of a piece of government land each to the Brāhmaṇas concerned. The land was sold to the Brāhmaṇa of the first grant to enable him perform the *agnihotra* and for the performance of the daily *pañchamahāyajñas* to the other Brāhmaṇa.

The Kalaikuri[85] copper plate inscription of GE 120 = A.D. 439 and belonging to this reign, also records the gift of a piece of land by certain traders, writers and record-keepers to three Brāhmaṇa scholars to enable them perform their daily sacrifices or the *pañcha-mahāyajñas.*

Another inscription from Gadhawa (No. 64) and supposedly of the reign of Kumāragupta I,[86] though very fragmentary, seems to record dīnāra-grants, to a *sattra* or alms house, for feeding and "to provide pairs of upper and lower garments" in its first part. It also contains the name of Anantagupta in its fifth line. In the second part is a mention of feeding in the *sattra*, a grant of 19 dīnāras, "two Karoṭas or 'basins or cups', and one pair (of upper and lower garments). Then follows apparently a grant of some land, on the south bank of a river."[87] The reference to the *sattra*, Brāhmaṇas and the *pañcha-mahāpātakas*, by way of imprecation, points to its Brahmanical nature.

The foregoing epipraphic evidence shows the popularity of the Brāhmaṇa faith. And now we propose to take up the particular Brahmanical-sects.

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It seems that the Mandasor (No. 18) inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman was engraved in A. D. 473-74. But the inscription states that a temple of the Sun, built by a guild of silk weavers, who had immigrated from the Lāṭa-vishaya to Daśapura or modern Mandsor, was completed in A.D. 437-38, in the reign of Kumāragupta I.[88] But the inscription was installed later in 473-4 A. D. after the repairs to the temple of the Sun were completed.[89] The inscription begins with *Siddhaṃ* and is devoid of the imprecatory verses. Bandhuvarman is referred to in the epigraph as "possessed of firmness and statesmanship, beloved by (*his*) kinsmen, the relative, as it were of (*his*) subjects, the remover of the afflictions of (*his*) connections; pre-eminently skillful in destroying the ranks of (*his*) proud enemies. Handsome, youthful, dextrous in war and endowed with humility".[90] This king may have been a feudatory or governor of Kumāragupta in that area. It is, however, rather strange that the inscription was not engraved after the completion of the construction of the temple. But it is also quite possible that the first inscription installed to mark the completion of the temple is lost.

The Gangadhar (No. 17) inscription of 423-24-25 A. D. belongs to Mayurāksha, a minister of king Viśvavarman, apparently of Malwa or a part thereof. This Viśvavarman, the son (or younger brother) of Naravarmā, is probably identical with his namesake, the father of Bandhuvarmā of Malwa and a contemporary of Kumāragupta. The date of this epigraph as well falls in Kumāragupta's reign, therefore, Viśvavarmā was probably also a feudatory or governor of king Kumāragupta I. The inscription refers to the construction of a temple of Vishṇu, and a temple of the Divine Mothers.[91]

The inscription seems to begin with an invocation of Vishṇu and describes Naravarmā as one "who pleased the gods with sacrifices, the saints with observances of a noble nature..."[92] And then his son (or younger brother) Viśvavarmā is described as equal to Bṛihaspati, possessed of a face like full moon and comparable to Rāma and Bhagiratha. Further he is said to have surpassed the Meru, Vainya, Moon, Vishṇu, Fire, Indra in firmness, virtue, lustre, strength, brilliance, and prowess respectively. He is further said to have "nourished (*his*) pure intellect by following the sacred writings, and now effects the protection of the world like Bharata, pointing out, as it were, the path of the true religion among kings."[93] Then the inscription states that "he who has adorned (*this*) city on the banks of the Gargarā with irrigation wells, tanks, and temples and halls of the gods, drinking wells, and pleasure-gardens of various kinds, and cause-ways and long pools,....who is, as it were, the third eye of the king; who is of noble behaviour, who is devoted to gods, Brāhmaṇas,

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spiritual preceptors, relations and holy men."[94] The names of Mayūrāksha's two son's, Vishṇubhaṭa and Haribhaṭa, may indicate his special leaning towards Vishṇu and his cult. The description, given above further shows that he was a believer in Brahmanical texts and precepts.

The Baigram copper plate grant (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, No. 13, pp. 78 ff) of 128 GE refers to the grant of land to a temple of the god Govindasvāmin or Vishṇu. It was exempted from revenue, its income was to be spent for burning incense, and lamp and to provide flowers for the worship of the deity. It seems, it was made by Bhoyila and Bhāskara, two brothers, but the temple of Govindasvāmin was built by their father.

The Hindu nature of Kumāragupta's kingship is indicated by his coin legends containing *divamjayati.*[95] His legends, referring to him only as victorious,[96] also seem to imply the winning of the heaven, unless the legend has any specifications such as *jayatiripūn*[97] or as *jayati mahītalaṃ*[98] etc. But perhaps the legend *jayati svaguṇair guṇa . Maheṇdra Kumāraḥ* (*CGE*, Kārttikeya type, pp. 204-5) is different. His performance of the Aśvamedha, indicated by his coins of this type (*CGE*, pp. 200 ff.), provides testimony to it. His *viruda mahenrāditya* also proves the same. His controversial Apratigha type, according to some scholars, shows Kumāragupta together with his queen, in consultation with a sage or yogī.[99] Goddess Gangā is depicted on his Rhinoceros[100] and possibly the Tiger slayer[101] coin-types.

That Kumāragupta was a Hindu with special inclination towards Vaishṇavism seems certain. Some inscriptions, as pointed out earlier, refer to his religious title *paramabhāgavata*. But this title of the king is conspicuosly absent on his gold coins. He styles himself as *paramabhāgavata* on his silver coins issued for his western provinces.[102] His silver coins of the Madhyadesa type too do not contain this title. The reasons, if any, of this distinction are not known. Can we think, on this basis, that Kumāragupta wanted to be known as a Bhāgvata in the remote western provinces, which had long been under the rule of the outlandish Śakas, whereas in the home provinces of the kingdom it was to be managed only by the Vaishnavite symbols Garuḍadhwaja and Lakshmī, as the family's religious allegiance was too well known ? On a group of his Lion-slayer coins, the king has compared himself with Narasiṃha, an incarnation of Lord Vishṇu (Altekar, A. S., *CGE*, p. 187, the full legend is *sākshādiva narasimho simhamahendro jayatyaniśaṃ*). The Garuḍadhwaja[103] consistently occurs on many of the kings types. On the controversial Garuḍa type coins of Mahendrāditya (or Kumāragupta), the figure of the bird with outspread wings,

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is found with Chakra and Śankha, on its either side, in the upper half of the repousse coins.[104] Lakshmī[105] as usual, together with her Simhavāhinī[106] form, is also noticeable on his coins.

Kumāragupta also seems to have been rather favourably inclined towards at least Kārttikeya.[107] This is confirmed by his coins of the Kārttikeya or the Peacock type. Its obverse shows, king feeding a peacock,[108] whereas the reverse shows Kārttikeya seated on peacock holding śakti or spear in l. and an indistinct object in r. hand.[109] The king's name *Kumāra* may have been given to him by his father, for it is not his *viruda*—which was Mahendrāditya—thus, it may not necessarily have a religious bearing as far as Kumāragupta is concerned. But then what made him issue coins with Kumāra-Kārttikeya ? Did he ever think of changing his religious allegiance ? This too seems uncertain. We are not prepared to believe that Kumāragupta was a Śaiva or Kumāra worshipper at home and a Vaishṇava in the distant provinces of the kingdom. Altekar[110] thinks that this type was possibly intended "as a numismatic homage to Kārttikeya." J. N. Banerjea[111] went a step further and said that the king was in "urgent need of the graces of the war god Kārttikeya, for the period of his rule was troubled by the ruthless invasions of the Hūṇas and Pushya (yuddha) mitras, and his special predilection for this martial god is also manifest in the name of one of his sons, viz. Skanda, if not of himself." But both of these invasions took place towards the close of the king's reign, and as Skandagupta is known to have quelled them he must have been given this name—Skanda—at least 20 years before these events,[112] that is, either at the time of his birth or sometime after. It may be, however, argued that Kumāragupta I may have actively participated in the western wars of his father and may have achieved victories as a result of the grace of the god Kumāra and named his son as Skanda. Later in his reign, however, he paid this 'numismatic homage' to the god. Thus this type seems to have been issued with both political and religious significance attached to it.

Some coins of Kumāragupta's Horseman and Tiger-slayer types have a goddess feeding a peacock as their reverse motif. This type may be connected with Kārttikeya mainly due to the appearance of the peacock, the mount of Kārttikeya, on them. R. K. Mookerjee identifies her as goddess Durgā, feeding her vāhana-mayūra.[113] This is evidenced by a passage contained in Śri-Chaṇḍi (Uttaracharitra, VIII, 17) a section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. In the passage alluded to above Kaumārī Ambikā is described as *Mayūra vara vāhanā* and as *guharūpiṇī* (or similar to Kārttikeya in appearance). But in

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another verse (XI. 15) the goddess is mentioned as surrounded by peacocks and is called Nārāyaṇī. Whichever of these identifications be correct the deity sure seems to belong to the Hindu pantheon. If the mount crocodile of the reverse goddess of Tiger-slayer type is taken as a *godhā* or alligator, her association with the peacock would make her a Śaiva goddess.[114]

The Bilsad (Etah Dist.) stone pillar inscription[115] (No. 10) of a certain Dhruvaśarman, dated in GE 96, gives the genealogy of the Guptas upto Kumāragupta I, in whose reign it was engraved. It was to record the construction of a *pratoli* or 'gateway with a flight of steps', the establishment of a *sattra* and the installation of the pillar with the inscription on it. This construction etc. was made at a temple of Swāmi-mahāsena, the god Brahmaṇya, by Dhruvaśarman who claims herein as one "who follows the path of the customs of the Kṛita age, and of the true religion"...[116] Dhruvaśarman was possibly a Brāhmaṇa and a worshipper of Kārttikeya. Since he gives the Gupta genealogy, he may have been close to king Kumāragupta, in one way or the other. So possibly Kumāragupta had no inclination towards Kārttikeya at least till GE 96, otherwise it may have mentioned about it.

Another Śaiva record of the reign is the Karamadaṇḍā stone Linga inscription[117] of GE 117 = A.D. 436. It begins (?) with an invocation of Mahādeva and records the gift made by Pṛithvīsheṇa, a minister of Kumāragupta I. He made the offering of Pṛithivīśvara, the stone Linga, bearing the epigraph. He was a Brāhmaṇa of the Chhāndoga with the *gotras Aśva* and *Vājin*. The family came from Ayodhya and lived in the neighbourhood of (possibly a temple) Mahādeva Śaileśvara. The donors were skilled in *tapa* and *svādhyāya*, ascetic practices, the study of the Vedas and in Mantra, Bhāshya, Sūtra and pravachana. The inscription also refers to Devadroṇi, possibly a procession of Śaiva images. It give the genealogy of the line of Pṛithivīsheṇa.[118]

The already mentioned Gangadhar inscription also refers to the construction of a temple of the Divine Mothers full of Ḍākinīs.[119] Mayūrāksha may have been a Tantric Śakti worshipper and a Vaishṇava at the same time.

These evidences show the existence of the flourishing condition of the Śaiva sects during Kumāragupta's reign. And some of his officers, like Pṛithivīsheṇa, may have been devout Śaivas.

There are a few Buddhist and Jaina inscriptions of the reign of Kumāragupta also. These, however, indicate the continuing flourishing condition of the concerned religious systems. We propose to mention them one by one.

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The supposition that the Apratigha-type-obverse shows Buddha with two female worshippers as suggested by Hoernle is wrong. The Mankuwar stone image inscription (No. 11) of GE 129 belongs to the reign of Kumāragupta I. The record is found on the pedestal of an image of Buddha. It begins with *Om namo Buddhānaṃ*, and records the installation of the image of the Buddha by Bhikshu Budhamitra in the year 129 GE of the reign of Mahārāja Śri Kumāragupta.[120] *Om* is an auspicious Hindu[121] formula, used usually at the beginning of almost anything. It supposedly signifies the union of Vishṇu, Śiva and Brahmā. Its occurrence in a Buddhist inscription shows the carelessness of the man who drafted it.[122]

Another Buddhist inscription (No. 62), dated in GE 131 = 451 A. D. may be taken to belong to the reign of Kumāragupta I. Beginning with *siddham*, this record from Sanchi mentions certain donations of money by Upāsikā Harisvāminī, the wife of Upāsaka Sanasiddha, to the Āryasamgha of Kākanādaboṭa or Sanchi, to enable it feed a bhikshu everyday and for lighting a lamp in front of the four seated Buddhas.[123] A Buddhist inscription (No. 63) dated 135 GE or 455 A. D. from Mathura may belong to this reign. The beginning of the epigraph contains the engraving of a Buddhist *dharmachakra*. It was found on the pedestal of a broken standing statue of Buddha. According to Fleet[124] "from the expressions used, as well as from the emblem on the margin of the stone, it is evidently a Buddhist inscription...." and records the gift of the statue by Vihārasvāminī. The non-mention of Kumāragupta in this, as well as the mention of the subordinate title with his name in the previous inscription, shows the indifference of the Buddhists towards the king and vice-versa.

The Udaigiri cave inscription (No. 61) of GE 106 = 426 A. D. is a Jaina record. It was engraved to record the installation of an image of Pārśva (nātha), the 23rd Tīrṭhamkara of the Jainas. It is from the Jaina cave No. 10 of Udaigiri. The record beginning with *Namaḥ Siddhebhyaḥ*, refers to the date of the installation of the said image in the augumenting reign of the king's of the Gupta family, and mentions the donation made by Saniker, a soldier by profession.[125]

There are two Mathura Jaina epigraphs[126] of this reign dated in GE 113 and 135 respectively. The said Jaina inscriptions of Kumāragupta's reign show the popularity of the faith. The Bengal inscriptions of the time of Kumāragupta I record the sale etc. of government land to individuals or groups

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to be given away in donations. But all of them are granted either to Brahmanical religious establishments or to Brāhmaṇas. We have yet to find such a grant in favour of the Jaina or Buddhist establishments. It is therefore evident that Kumāragupta himself did not bestow any particular favour to non-Brahmanical sects. But these sects continued to be popular among the people during Kumāragupta's reign, as gleaned from the inscriptions referred to above. In these developments we are inclined to see an aspect of state policy-while both Buddhism and Jainism were tolerated, the state was to give active support only to the Brahmanical religion.

Skandagupta

Skandagupta was the last of the great Gupta kings. It is clear from the known inscriptions and coins of this king that he maintained most of the Gupta kingdom and tradition.

His Bhitari pillar inscription (No. 13) is a Vaishṇava record.[127] It is not dated. Beginning with '*siddhaṃ*' the inscription records the installation of the image of the god Śāraṅgin, and the allotment of possibly the ancient village of Bhitari which is not mentioned in the inscription. Both of these were made "to increase the religious merit of his father." It seems thus that Kumāragupta must have been a Vaishaṇava by and large, and may not have changed his personal faith as his coins of the Kārttikeya type might suggest. It is also quite possible that the construction of the Bhitari temple was initiated by Kumāragupta, for bricks and fragements thereof, bearing his name or its parts were recently found from the excavations of the mound near the Bhitari pillar.[128] But as the contents of the pillar inscription indicate the temple was completed later in the reign of Skandagupta. Incidentally Skandagupta has compared himself with Kṛishṇa and his mother with Devakī in this record.[129]

The Junagadh rock inscription of Skandagupta[130] begins with an invocation of Vishṇu. It compares Parṇadatta's appointment in the west with the appointment of Varuṇa in the western region by the gods. It further says that Chakrapālita, the son of Praṇadatta, "sacrificed to the gods with oblations of clarified butter and with obeisances; and having gratified the twice born with (presents of) riches; and having paid respects to the citizens with such honours as they deserved, and to such of (his servants) as were worthy of notice, and to (his) friends with presents....having practiced (all the above) respectful observances for two months" built the embankment. This part of the inscription ends wishing the people of the city to be "prosperous; full of inhabitants; cleansed from sin by prayers sung by many hundreds of Brāhmaṇas... ."

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In the second part of the inscription Chakrapālita calls himself a devotee of Govinda, and states that a temple of the god Chakrabhṛit (Vishṇu) was built by him at a "great expenditure of time and wealth" in GE 138.

The line 13 of the inscription referring to the qualities of Chakrapālita says that he was "without any conflict between religion and wealth, applied himself to such pleasures as may be attained at the proper time". This shows that Chakrapālita, and possibly also his father Parṇadatta, believed in the Hindu socio-religious structure. The texts show that there should not be a conflict between *Dharma* and *Artha* or the other ends of life in the different *Āśramas*. An individual must, therefore, learn to regulate the acquisition of the different ends of life in different Āśramas.

If the name Chakrapālita was given to the man, by his father Parṇadatta, he too may have been a Vaishṇava. The repeated reference to Brāhmaṇas, Brahmanical practices and the building of the temple of Chakrabhṛit, all show that Chakrapālita was a Hindu, particularly a Vaishṇavite one.

The inscription eulogizing Skandagupta says that "while he, the king, is reigning, verily no man among his subjects falls away from religion; (*and*) there is no one who is distressed, (*or*) in proverty, (*or*) in misery, (*or*) avaricious, or who, worthy of punishment, is overmuch put to torture."[131] This statement tallies with the Puranic political thinking about the duties of the king to keep his people satisfied and happy. Elsewhere, this inscription praising Skandagupta says that his "pious deeds are even more wonderful than his supreme sovereignty over kings."[132]

The Gadhwa stone inscription (No. 66) of GE 148[133] = 468 A. D. may belong to the reign of Skandagupta or shortly after the end of his rule. The stone fragment bearing this inscription was found from "the pavement of the Daśāvatāra temple of Vishṇu..."[134] It is a Vaishṇava epigraph. It records the installation of a statue of Anantasvāmin (or Vishṇu) and a grant for providing perfumes, incense, garlands, and for repairs when necessary. The grant was made possibly in the form of land, at some village, possibly belonging to the said god under the name of Chitrakūṭasvāmin.[135] The record ends saying whosoever will interfere with this grant shall be invested with the guilt of the the five *mahāpātakas*.

Skandagupta at one place in the Junagadh inscription is called as "the banner of his lineage or *svavamśaketoḥ*.[136] But it may be too far fetched to hold that it was an attempt to compare Skandagupta with the Garuḍa

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standard and thereby suggest his being a Vaishṇava. His coins, however, prove his being a Hindu with particular faith in Vaishṇavism. His coin legends with *jayati divaṃ*[137] indicate his faith in Brahmanism. Skandagupta seems to have followed his father in the use of his religious title *paramabhāgavata*. This title is used by Skandagupta also on his silver coins of the Western India type.[138] Some of his coins contain the Garuḍadhwaja[139] and a few others bear the figure of Garuḍa.[140] Goddess Lakshmī[141] is depicted on the reverse of most of his gold types. The depiction of the King and Lakshmmī with the Garuḍadhwaja between them on the obverse of King and Lakshmī type, seems to be connected with the epigraphic statement "whom the goddess of fortune and splendour of her own accord selected as her husband" (Fleet, *CII*, III, p. 62). Whatever be the political significance of the epigraphic statement, and its connection with the said obverse type, it seems certain that Skandagupta's personal faith was Vaishnavism.

The Brahmanical nature of Skandagupta's kingship is indicated by the Supia Inscription of his reign. This inscription compares the king with Rāma in terms of strength and valour and Yudhishṭhira in truthfulness, and refers to him also like a Chakravarti.[142]

The Indor Copper plate inscription (No. 16) dated in GE 146[143] is a private record dated in the reign of Skandagupta. It begins with an invocation to Sun. Besides referring to the reigning king Skandagupta, it also mentions the Vishayapati Śarvanāga of Antarvedī district of which possibly Indrapura or Indor Kheda formed a part. The inscription records the establishment of an endowment by Devavishṇu,[144] a Brāhmaṇa, for the maintenance of a lamp in the temple of the god, Savitā, built by two Kshatriya-traders Achalavarman and Bhṛukuṇṭhasimha of Indrapura. The said endowment was made with the guild of oilmen, of the said town, whose head was Jīvanta. The guild was to provide two *palas* of oil in weight, so long as the moon and the sun endure, for the said purpose of lighting a lamp. It ends with the statement[145] that the transgresser will become as guilty as "the slayer of a cow, (*or*) the slayer of a spiritual preceptor, (*or*) the slayer of a Brahman, shall go down (*into hell*), invested with (*the guilt of*) those (*well known*) five sins (*the mahāpātakas*), together with the minor sins."[146]

Devavishṇu also boasts to have always recited the hymns of the Agnihotra-sacrifice.

The inscription gives yet another testimony to the existence of the Brahmanical Sun-worship in the Gupta kingdom.

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The Bihar stone pillar inscription (No. 12) of Skandagupta's[147] reign is in two parts but both of these parts are engraved in continuation. The first part is a Śaiva record. It refers to certain shares in a village called Skandaguptabaṭa and in the other *agrahāra*, the name of which can not be known now. It records the erection of a *yūpa* or sacrificial post by a minister whose sister was Kumāragupta's wife. It mentions probably the construction of a group of temples *(devaniketana maṇḍalam)* headed by Skanda *(Skanda-pradhānaiḥ)*, and of the Divine Mothers without giving their names. The Mothers are Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaishṇavī, Māhendrī, Vārāhī, and Chāmuṇḍā etc.[148] It also refers to Bhadrāryā-Bhadrāryakā or the wife of Bhadra-Śiva, i. e. Pārvatī.

The second part seems to contain an order or command of Skandagupta to the officer of Ajapura town, 'of the Vishaya....' It refers to a perpetual endowment, and Bhadrārya etc. This part may be connected with the contents of the first part of the inscription, also because there is not much difference between the period of the two portions.[149]

In the beginning of the first part of the inscription some one is described as a Nṛichandra, *Indrānuja-tulya-viryyoet.* But it seems that these descriptions have nothing to do with the Guptas. In all probability they concern some ancestor of the family of the donor. His comparison with Indrānuja, i. e. Vāman or Vishṇu, may show their familie's Vaishṇava leanings. But the Śaiva nature of the inscription is almost certain.

The relevant details, from our view point, of the Kosam stone image inscription (No. 65) of the Mahārāja Bhīmavarman, of the year 139[150] GE = 459 A. D., are lost. According to Fleet, Bhīmavarman may have been a 'feudatory' of Skandagupta. "It is evidently a Śaiva inscription; and the object of it must have been to record the gift or installation of the sculpture on the base of which it is engraved."[151]

The association of Skandagupta with the Śaiva inscription on the Bihar stone pillar shows his tolerance towards not only Brahmanical but other religions also. It also shows that many among his high officers and relatives were adherents of faiths other than his own.

Kahaum stone pillar inscription (No. 15) of Skandagupta's[152] reign and GE 141 = A. D. 461, is the only Jaina epigraph datable to the reign of this king. Of the sculptures engraved on this column, the important ones "are five standing naked figures". These are taken to be of the important Jaina

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Tīrthaṃkaras[153]—Ādinātha, Śāntinātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha, and Mahāvīra. These figures in all probability, are to be identified, with the five statues of the *Ādikartṛis*, mentioned in the inscription.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Skandagupta, of the Gupta lineage, "who resembles (*the god*) Śakra". The mention of Śakra, instead of his more popular Hindu name Indra may be deliberate. It records the installation of the pillar with the images of the five *Ādikartṛis*, by a certain Madra, "for the sake of final beatitude (*and*) for the welfare of (*all*) existing beings."[154]

Madra's genealogy as known from the inscription is (1) Somila's son was (2) Bhaṭṭisoma, and his son was (3) Rudrasoma, otherwise also known as Vyāghra; the latter's son was (4) Madra. Certain adjectives qualifying these names are also given. Madra is called as "especially full of affection for Brāhmaṇas and religious preceptors and ascetics."[154] Can we think on this basis that Madra was a Brahmanical Hindu householder with special religious interest in Jainism.

We have no Buddhist inscription definitely datable to Skandagupta's reign. The two inscriptions from Sanchi (No. 62) and Mathura (No. 63) dated to GE 131 and 135 respectively have already been referred to earlier under Kumāragupta I.

Successors

Purugupta's rule was brief. Now it is generally held that he ruled after Skandagupta. His identification with Prakāśāditya[156] is only tentatively taken into account. Inscriptions of his reign are yet to be known, but his place in Gupta lineage and his relationship with his predecessors and successors is known by Bhitari[157] and Nalanda[158] seals. In these seals, however, Purugupta is not given the religious title—*Paramabhāgavata*. But his Vaishṇava leaning cannot be doubted. He was the son of Kumāragupta I and the father of Budhagupta, who were both devout Vaishṇavas. Under these circumstances, Purugupta must also be taken to have been a Vaishṇava. His coins[159] in the name of Purugupta are not known. Allan and Altekar attributed the Horseman-rider-lion-slayer type coins of Prakāśāditya to Purugupta.[160] The incomplete circular legend ends with the kings claim of wining the heaven. The Garuḍa-dhwaja is also seen.[161] Its reverse shows Lakshmī seated on lotus, with noose and lotus in her r. and l. hands respectively. This numismatic evidence keeps the king in line with the Brahmanical-Vaishṇava family traditions.

The identification of Purugupta[162] with king Vikramāditya of Ayodhya, a patron of Buddhism and Vasubandhu is doubtful. According to

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Paramārtha's *Life of Vasubandhu,* king Vikramāditya appointed Vasubandhu[163] as tutor to his queen and crown prince Bālāditya. Even if the identification, for which there is absolutely no ground, be accepted, it cannot be said that Purugupta was a Buddhist.

Several inscriptions of the reign of Buddhagupta are found. He was the most important king of the line after Skandagupta and seems to have maintained the kingdom at least from Malwa to the Bay of Bengal. But it seems certain that the distant provinces of the kingdom owed him only nominal allegiance as is evidenced by their titles Mahārāja and Uparika Mahārāja etc. used by their governors.

Among the Brahmanical inscriptions of this king's reign is a set of three copper plate grants from Damodarpur in Dinajpur District of Bengal. The first of these, Damodarpur[164] (No. 2) cop. pl. inscription, dated in GE 163 = 483 A.D., refers to the sale of a governmental piece of land, to a Brāhmaṇa called Kārpaṭika, who has applied for it, to facilitate him perform the *Agnihotra* sacrifice. The inscription refers to the purpose of the grant as *pañchamahāyajña-pravartana.*

The Damodarpur (No. 3) cop. pl. inscription[165] of GE 163 = A. D. 483 too is a Brahmanical record. The applicant according to this inscription was one Nābhaka of the village Chaṇḍagrāma. Nābhaka wanted a piece of land in the said village to settle on it some good Brāhmaṇas for the welfare (*puṇya*) of his parents.

The other Damodarpur (No. 4) cop. pl. inscription[166] of this reign is not dated. The applicant seeking land grant in this epigraph is Ṛibhupāla, the *nagaraśreshṭhin.* He states thus "in Dongā-grāma in Himavachchhikara (lit. the Summit of the Himalaya),[167] 4 Kulyavāpas of apradā land were formerly given by me to Kokāmukha-svāmin and 7 Kulyavāpas to Śvetavarāha-svāmin, in the hope of benefit to myself (and) for the sake of increasing religious merit. Now in the neighbourhood of these cultivated lands, I wish to build two temples and their two store-rooms for those supreme gods Kokāmukha-svāmin and Śvetavarāha-svāmin (and) one Nāma lingaṃ" (?).

The reference to Kokāmukha and Śvetavarāha-svāmī is a definite indication of their being forms of Vishṇu. The above application of Ṛibhupāla refers to two land grants made respectively to both of the said deities. And the land-pieces granted thus were situated in the Koṭivarsha Vishaya of Puṇḍravardhana bhukti. Ṛibhupāla wanted to purchase some more land in the vicinity

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of the earlier-granted land, for the construction of two temples, one each for the said gods. This indicates that the original houses of Kokāmukha and Śvetavarāha swāmis must have been situated elsewhere, possibly at Himavachchhikara, perchance an otherwise unknown name of Varāhakshetra.[168] The Damodarpur (No. 5) cop. pl. inscription[169] of the year 224 GE = 544 A. D. in that case, refers to the Devakula of Śvetavarāhasvāmī, probably built by Ṛibhupāla. If this be accepted it can be said that the *araṇya* which encircled this temple around A. D. 544 was planted after its construction, for Ṛibhupāla's application for the grant, does not mention it. The land grant of A. D. 544 was made to provide for the repairs of the temple and worship of the diety by flowers, incense, lamp and oblations.

The Nandapur (a village in Monghyr) copper pl. inscription[170] of Buddhagupta's reign is dated in GE 169 = 489 A. D. It does not mention the Gupta king Buddhagupta. As known from the record, a Vishayapati applied to the Āyuktakas, for a piece of land belonging to an Agrahāra of Nanda-vīthī, to donate it to a Brāhmaṇa, so that he perfoms his *pañcha-mahāyajñas*—Bali, Charu, Vaiśvadeva, Agnihotra and Atithi[171]—well.

Yet another epigraph of the reign of Budhagupta is the Eran Stone pillar inscription (No. 19) of Mātṛivishṇu and Dhānyavishṇu.[172] This stone pillar containing the present inscription dated in GE 165 = 484 A. D., according to Cunningham[173] seems to be connected with a 'double temple' called the 'Lakshmī temple.' The inscription begins with an invocation of Chaturbhuja (or Vishṇu) whose banner is Garuḍa.[174] It states that in the year (GE) 165 when Buddhagupta was the king, his governor Suraśmichandra was administering the territory between Kālindī or Jamunā and Narmada rivers, one Mahārāja Mātṛivishṇu, highly devoted to the Divine One *(ātyanta-bhagavadbhakt)*[175] and his younger brother Dhānyavishṇu erected "this flag staff[176] of the divine (*god*) Janārdana" for "increasing the religious merit of (*their*) parents." The inscription comes to a close wishing prosperity to "all the subjects, headed by the cows and the Brāhmaṇas."[177]

These inscriptions of Buddhagupta's reign show the continued progress of the Hindu or the Vedic sacrificial religion and the different cults connected with it.

That Buddhagupta is not called a *paramabhāgavata*[178] in any of the said inscriptions does not actually mean that he was a non-Vaishṇava. His coins of the Archer type contain the figure of the Garuḍadhwaja but the circular legend is not distinct, it seems to begin with *para (hitakārī)*.[179] A

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depiction of human-headed Garuḍa is also found on his Nalanda Seal (*MASI*, No. 66, p. 64). All his known silver coins are from Madhyadesa and follow those of Skandagupta. On these coins he claims to be wining the heaven as indicated by *divamjayati*.[180] The reverse of his gold coins shows Lakshmī nimbate, seated on lotus, and holding a noose in r. and a lotus in her l. hand respectively.[181] The reverse of his silver coins has the device of the fan-tailed peacock.[182] The religious associations of the mount of Kārttikeya, seem to have motivated its adoption as a numismatic motif, in the reign of Kumāragupta, and possibly Skandagupta too, as the latter's Bihar pillar inscription may indicate. Buddhagupta may have continued this device.

The Paharpur copper plate inscription[183] of GE 159 = 489 A. D. is also an official document connected with a land transaction. It refers to the application of one Nāthaśarmā, a Brāhmaṇa and his wife Rāmī, for the purchase of some land to be donated to a Jaina vihāra, of the *Pañchastūpanikāya*, founded by Nirgrantha Śramaṇāchārya Guhanandī of Varanasi. From the profit of the grant were to be purchased scents, incense, flowers, and lamp for the worship of the Arhats. The inscription shows the popularity of Jainism in Puṇḍravardhana.

This is possibly the only definitely datable land grant of the Gupta period in which a piece of land was sold to be donated to a non-Brahmanical religious order. But there may have been more. This confirms the religious toleration of the Gupta monarchs.

Then there is one short inscription found on a stone image of Buddha from Sarnath. The image was made at the instance of one Śākyabhikshu called Abhayamitra[184] who is also the donor of the image. It was gifted, in the year 157 of the Guptas, in the reign of Buddhagupta. The image shows Buddha seated cross-legged and in abhayamudrā. Abhayamitra offers his religious earnings through this donation to his parents, predecessors, guru and to humanity (*lokasya*).[185]

In both the *Si-yu-ki* and the *Life* of Hiuen-tsang the names of the patrons of the Nalanda Monastery is given. One of these names is that of Buddhagupta.[186] The discovery of a seal of Buddhagupta from Nalanda[187] may lend some support to it. But these testimonies, by no means prove his being a Buddhist.

The remaining later imperial Gupta kings too seem to have maintained Brahmanism in general and Vaishnavism in particular. Thus, Narasimhagupta is styled as *paramabhāgavata* in his Nalanda Seal inscription.[188] The coins of

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Narasimhagupta bear the Garuḍa standard but their legend is not complete.[189] Their reverse bears a figure of Lakshmī.[190] Bhānugupta, a feudatory of Narasimhagupta, died fighting against the Hūṇas, and his wife committed *satī* according to Eran Stone inscription.

The discovery of Narasiṃhagupta's seal from Nalanda possibly shows that this king too was associated with the Buddhist establishment at Nalanda. Hiuen-tsang mentions Bālāditya as a patron of Buddhism and the builder of the Nalanda monastery.[191] Bālāditya was the *viruda* of Narasimhagupta, and is known from his coins. A late inscription from Nalanda, also mentions the erection of "a great and extraordinary temple at Nalanda" by Bālāditya. It appears that later Buddhist tradition considered Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya as a patron of their faith, which rather indirectly suggests that Narasimhagupta must have been a great patron of Buddhism. But the evidence of his Nalanda Seal and coins show that he remained a Vaishṇava and followed the official religion of his family.

Another imperial Gupta King Vainyagupta too is associated with Buddhism. His seal is also known from Nalanda[192] and bears the figure of a bull.

Tathāgatarāja also was one of the patrons of the Nalanda vihār according to *Si-yu-ki* and *Life*.[193] This king is identified with Vainyagupta.[194] The gold coins[195] of this king contain Garuḍadhvaja on obverse and the goddess Lakshmī on the reverse. The bull on his seal and the Garuḍa standard and Lakshmī on his coins prove his Brahmanical leaning. But unlike most of his predecessors Vainyagupta is mentioned as a devotee of Mahādeva or Śiva in the Gunaighar Copper plate inscription.[196]

This record mentions the grant of five plots of land, at the request of Rudradāsa, a governor of king Vainyagupta, to the Buddhist Samgha.[197] Therefore, it seems that Vainyagupta was fairly tolerant and patronized faiths even other than his own.

Another king whose seal is found from Nalanda[198] is Vishṇugupta. He is called as *paramabhāgavata* in the seal but may have, at the same time, extended his patronage to the Buddhists at Nalanda. His gold coins[199] bear the Garuḍadhvaja and Lakshmī.

Kumāragupta II is known from his coins bearing Garuḍa standard and Lakshmī, and some Buddha image inscriptions from Sarnath.[200] The Bhitari seal of Kumāragupta II mentions him as *paramabhāgavata*.[201] This shows that the

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king was a Vaishṇava, but may have extended his toleration towards other sects as well.

The Damodarpur copper plate inscription of GE 224 = A.D. 543 is sometimes ascribed to a king named Kumāragupta. But the reading of the name of the king is controversial.[202] It is a Brahmanical record and mentions the grant of a piece of land to provide for the repairs of the temple of the god called Śvetavarāhasvāmī, and to provide needed offerings required for His worship.[203] The record also contains the Brahmanical imprecatory verses.

King Prakāśāditya is known only from his coins. These coins contain the Garuḍadhvaja on obverse and Lakshmī on the reverse.[204]

The foregoing discussions go to prove that most of the Imperial Gupta kings were Vaishṇavas, and in general followed the Brahmanical sacrificial religion. But their personal religion does not seem to have influenced their attitude towards other contemporary religions, all of which seem to have flourished under the stable and peaceful administration. Therefore, it appears that the Guptas adopted a tolerant and patronising attitude towards all contemporary religious orders as a matter of their state policy.

References

1. This type has variously been ascribed to Samudragupta (Allan, *BMC, GD*, pp. LXXIII ff; Pathak, V.S., *JNSI*, XIX, II, pp. 135 ff.), the Lichchhavis (Agrawala, V.S., *JNSI*, XVII, I, p. 119), and to Chandragupta I (Altekar, A.S., *CGE*, pp. 26 ff).
2. Altekar, *CGE*, p. 33.
3. *CGE*, p. 31; Agrawala, V.S., *JNSI*, XVII, I, pp. 117 ff.
4. Simhavāhinī deity appears again on some coins of these kings (cf. *CGE*, pp. 109 ff; 187 ff) and thus possibly discredits the view that associates her with the Lichchhavis.
5. Dikshit, R.K., *JNSI*, XXVI, I, pp. 102-4; *Ibid.*, XXX, pp. 80 ff.
6. Fleet, J.F., *C.I.I.*, III, pp. 6 & 11 : *Śastra-tattvārthabhartuḥ*.
7. *Ibid*, pp. 8, 14. In the Eran Inscription he is compared with the two latter deities in pleasure and anger, cf. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 20-21.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
9. This aspect of Samudragupta's personality is mentioned in many inscriptions of the Gupta kings after him and in his own records; *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 273; 271, 269.
10. The performance of Aśvamedha by Samudragupta is testified by his gold coins of the Aśvamedha type and the records of his successors. These statements of the spurious Gaya copper plates tally with those mentioned in the Mathura Inscription of Chandragupta II (cf. Fleet, J.F., *C.I.I.*, III, pp. 27-28) and other dynastic records.
11. Fleet, J.F., *C.I.I.*, III, pp. 256-57.
12. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 271-72; cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, pp. 52 f; *Ibid*, XXVI, pp. 135-36.
13. Fleet, *C.I.I.*, III, pp. 8, 14-15.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

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15. Altekar, A.S., *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 47-8, 55, 58, 67.
16. Altekar, A.S , *State and Government in Ancient India*, p 58.
17. Śāntiparva, 90.1, 5.
18. *Rājñām śarīragrahaṇam na bhogāyamahīpate, Kleśāya mahate pṛthvīsvadharmaparipālane, Mār. Pu.*, 130. 33-34
19. *Arthaśāstra*, VII. 16.
20. *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, I. 342 43.
21. *Vishṇudharmasūtra*, III. 42, 47-49.
22. *Manusmṛiti*, VII 202-3.
23. *Agnipurāṇa*, 236. 22.
24. Altekar, A.S., *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 67.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Spellman, J.W., *Political Theory of Ancient India*, (Oxford, 1964), p 172.
28. Altekar, A.S., *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 72.
29. The Garuḍa standard is met with on his Standard and Archer types and only on variety B. of the Kācha type coins, Altekar, A.S., *ibid.*, pp. 47, 55, 89.
30. Lakshmī is depicted on the reverse of his Standard, Archer, Battle-axe and Lyrist type of coins, cf. Altekar, A.S., *ibid.*, pp. 48, 55, 58-9, 76 respectively.
31. Altekar, *CGE*, pp. 87 ff.
32. Fleet, J.F., *C.I.I.*, III, pp. 19-20.
33. *Arch. Sur. Ind.*, vol. X, p. 89 and Pls. XXVB and XXVIB.
34. Some scholars doubt the ascription of *Kṛishṇacharitra* to Samudragupta (cf. *CGE*, p. 44 n. 2).
35. *The Vakataka-Gupta Age*, pp. 137-38.
36. Jai Prakash, *JNSI*, XXV, II, pp. 165 ff; *Ibid*, XXVIII, II, pp. 157 ff; Cf. A.H. Dani, *ibid.*, XXVI, I, pp. 11 ff.
37. Jai Prakash, *JNSI*, XXV, II, pp. 165 ff; cf. also Dani, *ibid.*, XXVI, I, pp. 11 ff.
38. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, XVIII, No. 3, pp. 241 ff.
39. Fleet, J F., *C.I.I*, III, pp. 27-28; This title of the king is found in other family records and his coins as well. In fact the reading of the title is restored here on the basis of subsequent family records and coins of the king.
40. Dated in GE. 61 = 380 A.D. and his first or 5th regnal year; cf *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, pp. 8 ff; *I.H.Q.*, XVIII, p. 271; *ABORI*, XVIII, p. 166; *Select Inscriptions*, I, p. 270.
41. Fleet, J.F., *CII.*, III, p. 38.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.
43. For the five *Mahāpātakas*, see *Laws of Manu* (Trs. G. Bühler), IX. 235, XI. 55-59.
44. Altekar, A.S., *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 130.
45. *Ibid*, p. 141.
46. Fleet, J.F., *C.I.I.*, III, p. 25.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.
48. cf. Horseman, variety E of Couch, King and queen on couch, Standard, and Silver coins, Class I : cf. Altekar, A.S., *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp 123, 137, 140, 141, 152 ff. respectively.
49. Arguing that since no Gupta king is depicted on the rev. of his coins he says that this couple should be taken as a divine one, as this side of the coin was meant only for a deity except the Aśvamedha coins; cf. *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 39.
50. *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 40.
51. cf. *CGE*, p. 140.
52. *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 40. S.V. Sohoni took the figures to be of the mythical king Māndhātā, an incarnation of Vishṇu, and his queen, cf. *JNSI*, XX, pt. II, pp. 178 ff.
53. Altekar, A.S., *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 146.
54. cf. C. Sivaramamurti, *JNSI*, XIII, pt. II, pp. 180 ff; V.S. Agrawala, *ibid*, XVI, pt. I, pp. 97 ff.

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55. *Ahirbudhanyasamhitā*, 36. 33-4; 41.37. 56. *Ibid*, 36. 23-25.
57. *JNSI*, XVI, pt. I, p. 100.
58. Altekar, A.S., *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 93, 140, 141.
59. *Ibid*, pp. 151 ff. 60. *Ibid.*, pp. 156 ff.
61. The Chandra of Meharauli pillar inscription is variously identified, but most scholars prefer his identity with Chandragupta II. For different views about his identity see *JRASBL*, IX, pp. 179 ff; *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 367 ff; *JAHRS*, X, pp. 86 f; *JIH*, XVI, pp. 13 ff.
62. D.C. Sircar in his *Select Inscriptions* states that 'this Vishṇupada hill is not far from Kurukshetra and the Beas,' p. 285 n. 4.
63. Altekar, A.S., *CGE*, pp. 93, 123-125, 129-30, 136 ff, 141, 144-45, 146.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 158; this coin tallies with Chandragupta's Archer type Class II in gold, and is known by a single specimen. It may, therefore, be a freak issue, *Ibid.*
65. Altekar, *Ibid*, pp. 110-111.
66. Mookerjee, *The Gupta Empire*, p. 55; Allan, (*BMC, GD*, pp. LXXII—III, LXXXIII) took her for Lakshmī or Ambikā; M.C. Joshi (*JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 37-8) took her to be Jayā, the goddess of victory on the basis of a passage in the *Durgā Saptaśatī*, IV. 1.
67. Altekar, A.S., *CGE*, p. 106.
68. R.K. Dikshit, *JNSI*, XXVI, pt. I, pp. 102-04; cf. *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 80 ff.
69. *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, pp. 8 ff; D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 277 ff.
70. This possibly indicates the existence of a gallery of portrait statues of the Teachers, on the lines of the *Deva-kula* referred to in the *Pratimā-nāṭaka* of Bhāsa. An inscription of the reign of Huvishka also refers to his *pitāmaha devakula* or a royal gallery of portrait statues (*JBORS*, 1919, pp. 98-99.
71. Fleet, J.F., *C.I.I.*, III, pp. 35-6. 72. *Ibid*, p. 36.
73. *BMC, GD*, pl. VIII. 4; Altekar, *CGE*. pl. VIII. 8.
74. *CGE*, p. 131 coin No. 3, and p. 128. 75. Fleet, *C.I.I*, III, p. 31.
76. *The Gupta Empire*, p. 50. 77. Fleet, J. F., *C.I.I.*, III, pp. 31-34
78. *Ibid*, p. 34; the sins referred to here are doubtless the Hindu sins which is clarified further by the mention of the killing of a cow or a Brāhmaṇa. The five other sins mentioned may be the Buddhist ones, viz., marricide, parricide, killing of an Arhat, killing a Buddha and creation of dissension in the priesthood (cf. Childer's *Pali Dictionary*, s v. *pañchamantariyakammam* and *abhiṭhānaṃ*) but the context fails to suggest this list.
79. Legge, *Fa hien*; 'In the upper Gangetic plain, Hinduism and Buddhism seem to have been equally popular and the same was probably the case in Bihar and Bengal', *The Vakataka Gupta Age*, pp. 356-7.
80. Fleet, J.F., *C.I.I.*, III, pp. 39-40.
81. *Ibid*, p. 29. 82. *Ibid*, p. 41.
83. *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, pp. 345 ff.
84. *Ibid*, XV, pp. 129 ff, 132 ff; *ibid.*, XVII, pp. 193 ff.
85. *I H.Q.*, XIX, pp. 12 ff.
86. In fact Fleet reads traces of Kumāragupta's name in lines 1-2, see, *C.I.I.*, III, p. 265.
87. *Ibid.* 88. *Ibid.*, p. 80; cf. pp. 79 ff.

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89. The discovery of the stone-slab containing the inscription built in a medieval Śaiva temple of Mahādeva (Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 80) may indicate that at least some material of the repaired Sun-temple was later used in the construction of the temple of Mahādeva.
90. Fleet, J.F., *ibid.*, p. 86.
91. *Ibid.*, pp. 74 ff.
92. *Ibid*, p. 76.
93. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77. In Mandasor inscription of Bandhuvarman, this king is mentioned as equal to Śukra and Bṛihaspati in intellect, Pārtha in war, and as "very compassionate to the unhappy; who fulfilled his promises to the miserable and the distressed; who was excessively full of tenderness; (*and*) who was a very tree of plenty to (*his*) friends, and the giver of security to the frightened, and the friend of (*his*) country..." *ibid.*, p. 86.
94. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.
95. This legend is found on some of his Archer, Horseman, Swordsman, Lion-slayer, and silver coins of class V and VII of Madhyadesa type, cf. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 171, 179, 184, 186, 229-232 and 233-34.
96. This is found on some of his Horseman, and Lion-slayer types, cf. Altekar, A.S., *Ibid.*, pp. 174 ff, 187.
97. Elephant rider and Elephant-rider-lion slayer types, *CGE*, pp. 194, 196.
98. Archer, III, var. B-C, *CGE*, pp. 168, 172.
99. Mirashi took the central figure as that of a yogī, cf. *JNSI*, XII, p. 68.
100. Altekar, *CGE*, p. 198.
101. The Tiger slayer reverse shows a lady standing possibly on a crocodile and feeding a peacock in her front. The mount suggests Gangā, but her association with peacock is unknown; cf. *ibid.*, p. 192 for description.
102. Altekar, A.S., *CGE*. pp. 217-28 and 232, classes I-IV and VI.
103. It occurs on Archer, Swordsman, and Apratigha; Altekar, *ibid.*, pp. 169, 184, 208.
104. *Ibid.*, pp. 213-14.
105. It occurs on Archer, Horseman, Swordsman, Elephant rider, Elephant-rider-lion-slayer, Chhatra, Apratigha, and Lyrist types, Altekar, *ibid.*, pp. 169, 177-8, 184, 194 5, 196, 207, 208 and 212.
106. It occurs on Lion-slayer and King and Queen on couch types, Altekar, *CGE*, pp 187 ff, 189 f., 213.
107. Apratigha type is sometimes said to contain Kārttikeya and his two wives on the obverse, cf. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 348, but no one takes it seriously now.
108. The reverse of Kumāragupta's Tiger-slayer type shows a goddess standing possibly on a crocodile and feeding a peacock in front. The actual nature of the goddess cannot be determined. She is supposed to be Gangā but she may not even be a goddess; Altekar, *CGE*, p. 192.
109. *Ibid.*, pp. 203 ff.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 203, f.n. 1.
111. *JNSI*, XIII, pt. II, p. 162; *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 144 f.n. 1.
112. It seems that Skandagupta must have been in his middle age at the time of his coronation. The short duration of his reign confirms this surmise.
113. *The Gupta Empire*, pp. 85 and 86.
114. A 12 armed Mahishāsuramardinī figure holding a *godha* in her two hands is carved on the facade of the 'Chandragupta cave' at Udaigiri. Some stone discs from

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Patna belonging to Śunga period associate fertility goddesses among other animals with lion and peacock, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 172-73.

115. Fleet, J.F., *C.I.I.*, III, pp. 42 ff. 116. *Ibid*, p. 45. 117. *Ep. Ind.*, X, pp. 71 ff.

118. Pṛithivīsheṇa was the son of Chandragupta II's Kumārāmātya Śikharasvāmin, son of Vishṇupālitabhaṭṭa, son of Kumāravyabhaṭṭa, cf. *ibid.*

119. Fleet, *C.I.I.*, III, (No. 17), p. 78. 120. *Ibid*, pp. 45, 46-7.

121. The importance and efficacy of the use of the word is detailed in the *Manusmṛiti*, see G. Bühler, *The Laws of Manu*, II. 74-85, pp. 43-46.

122. This word is not usually found at the beginning of Buddhist inscriptions. Another example of this type is furnished by the Sheragadh (Kota) inscription of Sāmanta Devadatta, (*Ind. Ant*, Vol. XIV, p. 45), cf. Fleet, *ibid*, p. 46, f. n. 3.

123. Fleet, J.F., *C.I.I.*, III, pp. 261-62. 124. *Ibid*, pp. 262-63.

125. *Ibid*, pp. 258-60. 126. *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 210.

127. Fleet, J.F., *C.I.I.*, III, pp. 52-56.

128. I am thankful to Dr. K.K. Sinha for kindly giving me the information about these bricks. 129. Fleet, *Ibid*, pp. 54, 55.

130. *Ibid.*, pp. 56-65. 131. *Ibid*, p. 62.

132. *Ibid*, p. 63. 133. *Ibid*, pp. 267-269.

134. *Ibid*, p. 267. 135. *Ibid*, p. 268.

136. Fleet, *Ibid*, pp. 61, 64.

137. Archer type, *CGE*, p. 243, 244; cf. also his silver coins Class IV : Madhyadesa type, *Ibid*, pp. 257-58, on the coins of Var. B., however, the order of the words is *divam jayati.*

138. Classes I-III, *CGE*, pp. 251-257; Skandagupta is given this title in his Bihar stone pillar inscription, lines, 23, 25; cf. Fleet, *ibid*, p. 50.

139. On Archer and King and Lakshmī types, Altekar, *CGE*, pp. 243 and 246-47.

140. Garuḍa is found depicted on the repousse coins of Skandagupta bearing his *viruda* Kramāditya, see *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 184 ff; and some of his silver coins, cf. Allan, *BMC, GD*, PL. XX. 3-8; Altekar, *CGE*, p. 251, Pl. XVIII. 6-8.

141. Archer, King and Lakshmī, Chhatra and Horseman types; *CGE*, pp. 243-44, 247, 249, 250.

142. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 317-18. 143. Fleet, *C.I.I*, III, pp. 68-72.

144. It appears from the inscription that Devavishṇu, was a Chaturvedin Brāhmaṇa of Padma, of the town of Chandrāpura. Devavishṇu was the son of Deva, grandson of Haritrāta, and great grandson of Ḍuḍika. He belonged to Rāṇayaṇīya (Śākhā), and the Vārshagaṇa gotra, cf. Fleet, *ibid*, pp. 70-71.

145. Fleet, *Ibid*, pp. 70-72.

146. The minor sins are narrated in *The Laws of Manu* (ed. by Bühler), XI. 60-67.,

147. Fleet, *C.I.I.*, III, pp 47-52; D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, pp. 217-19.

148. *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 503 ff.

149. Writing about the nature of the Ist part of the inscription Fleet says that "this part of the inscription seems to belong, like the second, to the time of his son and successor Skandagupta, from the mention of apparently a village named Skandaguptabaṭa", (Fleet, *Ibid*, p. 48). But the village may not necessarily have been

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named thus in Skandagupta's reign; it may have been so named, for instance after the birth or nāmakaraṇa or during or after his victories over the Pushyamitras and Hūṇas during the reign of his father. R.K. Mookerjee's (*The Gupta Empire*, p. 96) suggestion that the village Skandaguptabaṭa was "named after either the god Skanda or the emperor Skanda Gupta", is partly incorrect. It would not have contained gupta if it was named after Skanda, the god, but we are not sure if it was named after prince Skandagupta or the emperor.

150. Fleet, J.F., *C.I.I.*, III, pp. 266-67. 151. *Ibid*, p. 266. 152. *Ibid*, pp. 65-68.

153. B.L. Indraji, *Ind. Anti.*, X, pp. 125 f; cf. Fleet, *ibid*, p. 66.

154. Fleet, *ibid*, III, pp. 67-68.

155. *Ibid*, p. 67; cf. *dvija-guru-yatishu prayāśaḥ prītimān.*

156. He is often identified with king Prakāśāditya known from his gold coins, cf. Altekar, *CGE*, pp. 263, 284-85. But the identification of Purugupta and Skandagupta is totally baseless; cf. B.P. Sinha, *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, pp. 7 ff.

157. *JASB* (1889) Vol. 58, p. 90.

158. *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 235; *M.A.S.I.*, No. 66, p. 64.

159. The heavy weight Archer type coins were attributed to Purugupta by Allan, *BMC GD*, p. 134. But later the reading of the vertical legend under the king's arm was corrected to *Budha* and the coins thus attributed to Budhagupta, *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, p. 692. In 1948, however, these coins were finally attributed to Budhagupta, on the basis of two new coins of the type in good condition, *JNSI*, XII, p. 112.

160. Allan, *BMC, GD*, p. 135; Altekar, *CGE*, pp. 263, 284-85.

161. Altekar, *CGE*, pp. 285-6.

162. Allan, *BMC, GD*, pp. L-Li; *The Gupta Empire*, p. 102; Sinha, B.P., *D.K.M.*, p. 14. This identification was supported by the attribution of the heavy Archer type coins bearing *Śrīvikramaḥ* on the reverse. But now these coins are attributed to Budhagupta with certainty for the reading of the vertical obverse legend is finally accepted as *Budha*. This makes the identification of Purugupta with Vikramāditya of Ayodhya mentioned by Parmārtha untenable.

163. The date of Vasubandhu is very controversial. Takakusu places him between 420-500 A.D. (*JRAS*, 1905, pp. 33 ff) and Smith in 4th century A.D. (*E.H.I.*, pp. 346-7).

164. *Ep. Ind.*, XV, pp. 134 ff.

165. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XV, pp. 113 ff.; for Damodarpur Inscriptions, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 332 ff.

166. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 336 ff; cf. *The Gupta Empire*, pp. 112-18.

167. The literal meaning of the Himavachchhikara has led to a lot of confusion, if it really stands for the summit of the Himalayas. His application to Sandaka, the officer-in-charge of Koṭivarsha vishaya of the Puṇḍravardhana bhukti shows its being a division or subdivision of the same district. Thus Himavachchhikara is a place name, cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 337, n. 3, for its location.

168. On Triveni, above Nathapura in Purnea District. cf. for Kokāmukha, Anuśāsana-parva, 25. 52; *Varāha*, 122 (Kokāmukha māhātmya), 123.2, 140. 10-13, etc. cf. P.V. Kane, *Hist. of Dh.*, IV, pp. 768-69; also *Ep. Ind*, XV, pp. 138-9, and *B.C. Law Vol.*, I, pp. 189-191; *I.H.Q.*, XXI, p. 56; *Select Inscriptions*, p. 337, n. 4, etc.

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169. *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 142. 170. cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 78; *ibid*, XXIII, pp. 51-55.
171. *The Gupta Empire*, pp. 116-17.
172. Fleet, J.F., *C.I.I*, III, pp. 88-90; *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 334 ff.
173. *Arch. Sur. Ind.*, X, p. 87.
174. *Jayati Vibhuś-chatur-bhujaś-chatur-arṇṇava-vipula-salila-paryyaṅkah jagataḥ sthity-utpatti-nya (y-ādi)—hetur-Garuḍa-ketuḥ*, Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 89. It seems that the Garuḍa came to be firmly recognised as the Ketu of Vishṇu under the Gupta's who were Vaishnavites and had Garuḍadhvaja as their dynastic insignia.
175. This expression reminds of the title *paramabhāgavata*, but as Mātṛvishṇu did not use it, it seems that being a subordinate officer of the noted *paramabhāgavata* Gupta rulers, he was expressing respect and allegiance to Buddhagupta, who was himself a *paramabhāgavata*, cf. his Nalanda Seal, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 339.
176. The Dhwaja-stambha or flag-staff stands for the pillar on which the inscription is engraved. 177. Fleet, *ibid*, pp. 89-90.
178. This title of the king is restored in the Nalanda Seal of the king, *I.H.Q*, XIX, 1943, pp. 119 ff; *Select Inscriptions*, p. 339. 179. Altekar, A.S., *CGE*, pp. 277-78.
180. *Ibid.*, pp. 278-80. 181. *Ibid.*, pp. 277-8.
182. *Ibid.*, pp. 278-80. 183. *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 59 ff.
184. The sameness of the contents of this inscription with the one dated in GE 154 in the reign of Kumāragupta (II), referred to earlier, shows that Abhayamitras mentioned in them both are identical.
185. Only a Buddhist could have possibly offerred at least a part of his religious earnings (*puṇyaiḥ*) to the *loka* or the whole creation.
186. Chattopadhyaya, S., *Early History of North India*, p. 183.
187. *M.A.S.I.*, No. 66, p. 64; *Select Inscriptions*, p. 339.
188. *I.H.Q*, XIX, p. 273; cf. also *Select Inscriptions*, p. 339 n. 2.
189. Altekar, *CGE*, pp. 270-71. 190. *Ibid.*
191. *The Vakataka Gupta Age*, p. 177.
192. *I.H.Q.*, XIX, p. 275; The figure of a recumbent bull is also depicted on the seal attached to his Gunaighar Copper plate inscription, cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 341, n. 1.
193. *Early History of North India*, p. 183. 194. *Ibid.*, pp. 186-87.
195. *CGE*, p. 282. 196. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 341.
197. *Ibid.*, pp. 341 ff. 198. *Ibid*, p. 340.
199. *CGE*, pp. 280-81. 200. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 329.
201. *Ibid*, p. 330. 202. *Ibid*, p. 347, n. 5.
203. *Ibid.*, pp.347 ff. 204. *CGE*, pp. 285-86.

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HISTORY THE OF SUNGAS OF KOSALA

NISAR AHMAD

The mahājanapada of Kosala since it lost its independence probably to Magadha[1] towards the end of the 5th century B. C.[2] remained a part of this kingdom. But a century after the commencement of 'the age of political disintegration', that started in the beginning of the last quarter of the 3rd century B. C., it reasserted its freedom with its capital at Saketa,[3] probably by the assasination of Vasumitra[3a] alias Sumitra,[4] the son of Agnimitra and the grandson of Pushyamitra.[4a]

The existence of the princes that belonged to the house of Kosala is revealed mainly by the numismatic evidence, known from the ancient sites of Ayodhyā,[5] Śrāvasti,[6] the districts of Jaunpur,[7] Azamgarh,[8] and Allahabad[9] in U. P. and Buxar[10] and Patna[11] in Bihar. The coins from these sites belong to two sets : cast and die-struck. The earlier series has two name-endings : Deva and Datta. Here the coins of the Devas are delt with. These coins are characterised to have inscriptions, animal—either bull or elephant, and a standard in front of it on their obverse. They disclose the existence of the rulers namely Mūladeva, Vāyudeva, Viśākhadeva, Dhanadeva, Śivadeva and Pathad(eva).[12] In this list the name of Phalgudeva, known from an inscription,[13] may also be added.

The date of the commencement of the history of this independence of Ayodhya is proposed vividly owing to the nature of available source material. Dasgupta writes that the legends "on the coins of Dhanadeva and Viśākhadeva are of the Aśokan Brāhmī type, i. e. they belong to the third century B. C."[14] Altekar, on the palaeographical grounds says that "*da* opens to the left and *ta* has remarkably long vertical" and places the coins of "Jyeshṭhadatta early in the 2nd century B. C."[15] The study of the coin-types suggests that the Deva kings preceded the Dattas.[16] So far, seven rulers of the Deva family are known. If the above date given to a king of the Datta family is accepted it means that the present history of this principality started sometime in the third century B. C. But the attribution of the coins to the third century B.C. is unwarranted because there is no break in the coinage of the Series I of Ayodhya and, therefore, we have to suggest that Pushyamitra had no control over Kosala region.

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But any one of us can hardly readily subscribe to this view.[17] Further, Dhanadeva of the coins is identified with Dhana (deva) of the Ayodhya inscription.[18] Jayaswal ascribes it to the second century B. C.[19] But N. G. Majumdar emphatically writes that "the palaeography of the inscription is very much against the fact."[20] Here he claims to be the *shashṭha* of Senāpati Pushyamitra,[21] the latter was "undoubtedly the Śuṅga king of that name,"[22] who ruled from 184 B. C.[23] Now it is established that *shashṭha* here means 'sixth desendent'[24] and hence Dhanadeva must be placed nearly a century after the death of Pushyamitra. Cunningham rightly says: "The coins are certainly not older than the second century B. C."[25] Smith[26] and Allan[27] accept it. Majumdar observes that "The beginning of this may be roughly placed in the second half of the second century B. C."[28] Sircar holds that these coins "may be roughly assigned to the two centuries following the middle of the first century B.C." This opinion rests on the attribution of the Ayodhya inscription of Dhanadeva to the end of the first century B. C. on palaeographical grounds and the placement of his reign in the "closing decades of the first century B. C.,"[29] since be was sixth in desent from Pushyamitra. Dani thinks that the earliest coins belong to the first century A. D.

N. G. Majumdar,[30] Narain,[31] Dani,[32] and Verma[33] place this epigraph in the first century A. D. Elsewhere Sircar also assigned it to the first century A. D. Thus it is quite evident that the dating on the palaeographical ground cannot be very much accurate and can be shifted a few decades either way. The pivotal point of consideration, in this regard, is the mention of Dhanadeva, as the 'sixth descendent' of Pushyamitra. Jagannath writes that "we may place the latter c. 68 B. C."[34] We do not know the basis for this precise date. However, we subscribe to his view that Dhanadeva flourished in the middle of the first century B.C. We remember that Vasumitra, the grandson of Pushyamitra, headed the Śuṅga army in 150 B. C.,[35] hence he must have been quite old at this time and, therefore, he was born about 180 B. C. This fact leads us to presume that Dhanadeva, fourth in descent from him, might have been born in the beginning of the first century B. C. The duration of nearly a century ascribed for the birth of four generations does not appear unusual if we turn over to the pages of the past history. According to Sircar himself, the last Mauryan king, Bṛihadratha was the 7th in descent from Aśoka[36] and we know that he was assassinated just 52 years, in 184 B. C., after the termination of Aśoka's reign that occurred in 236 B. C.[37] Further if the rule of the 7th descendent of Aśoka ended within six decades it is not very reasonable to place the date of the termination of Dhanadeva's reign after nearly one and a half centuries

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from the death of Pushyamitra. The date ascribed to Dhanadeva by Sircar is also based on his belief that "since the fashion of mentioning the name of the ruling authority in the coin-legend was inspired and popularized in India by foreign kings beginning with the Indo-Greeks, most of the coins bearing such legends should preferably be assigned to a date later than the early decades of the second century B. C." But I have controverted this view and suggested that the inscribed coins commenced in the last quarter of the third century B. C.[41] Thus the reign-period of Dhanadeva can well be placed in the middle of the first century B. C., since four rulers—Mūladeva, Vāyudeva, Viśākhadeva and Phalgudeva—preceded him, the beginning of the history of this independence of Kosala may be referred to the closing decades of the 2nd century B. C.

Pt. J. D. Ratnakar interprets *Pushyamitrasya shashṭhena* as 'sixth descendent' or 'brother'.[42] Jayaswal once accepted the latter meaning[43] but afterwards translated it as 'the sixth son'.[44] N.G. Majumdar rightly points out that "in the *Raghuvaṁśa* we have *Takshakasya panchaman* exactly like *Pushyamitrasya shashṭha* of the Ayodhya inscription."[45] Three well known commentators, viz. Vallabhadeva, Dinakara and Chāritravardhana render it as 'grandson of grandson of Takshaka.'[46] Majumdar further writes : "If Takshakasya *panchama* means fifth in descent why *Pushyamitrasya shashṭha* should not be similarly taken to mean sixth in descent from Pushyamitra."[47] Ratnakar interprets, 'sixth descent' as that Phalgudeva was the grandson of the grandson of Pushymitra.'[48] Jagannath also holds that "four generations intervened between Pushyamitra and Dhanadeva."[49] If the words *pañchama* and *shashṭha* mean 'fifth' and sixth' descendent they should be interpreted as the great grand son of the grandson and the great grand son of the great grandson, respectively.

Sircar goes ahead and suggests "sixth in descent from Pushyamitra either from the side of the father or from that of the mother. This interpretation is supported by the palaeography of the record. Sanskrit usage would require *Pushyamitrat ;* but the language of the record is influenced by Prakrit."[50] But later he holds that "sixth in descent, probably on the mother's side." He also observes that "the interpretation 'sixth brother of Pushyamitra' is out of question."[51] The explanation, 'sixth descendent from the mother's side,' is unwarranted. Gupta holds: "Since Dhanadeva's name does not appear in the Puranic list of the Śuṅgas, it may well be assumed that he was only some scion of the Śuṅgas."[52] But the non-occurrence of the names of the Devas in the Puranic list can not be a barrier in calling them as the Śuṅgas. Verma suggests that "Dhana (deva) may not fall in the direct line of the Śuṅgas"[53] But I do not find any reason to agree with the surmise of Verma that the Devas

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were not in the 'direct line of the Śuṅgas.' The phrase 'sixth descendent from Pushyamitra' certainly shows that five generations before, Dhanadeva was connected with Pushyamitra from the father's side. We know that Dhanadeva was preceded by four members, Mūladeva, Vāyudeva, Viśākhadeva and Phalgudeva, in succession.[54] Would it be wrong if they are taken as grandson, great grandson and grandson of the grandson of Pushyamitra ?

Thus the kings of Kosala were a collateral branch of the Śuṅgas. N. G. Majumdar rightly holds that "a branch of the Śuṅgas, even after the extinction of their Imperial power, was ruling over Kosala."[55] Certainly the Śuṅgas were not rooted out completely by the Kaṇvas is suggested by the *Purāṇas* : "The Andhra Simukha with his fellow tribesmen, the servants of Suśarman will assail the Kāṇvāyanas and him (Suśarman), and destroy the remains of the Śuṅgas' power and will obtain this earth."[56] This Puranic account clearly shows that the Śuṅgas continued till the Sātavāhana power originated. Their existence in the later period is attested by the Bharhut Toraṇa inscription of Dhanabhūti,[57] that probably belonged to the 1st century B. C.,[58] containing the words *Suganam raje*, i. e. 'in the kingdom of the Śuṅgas.[58a] It is not unlikely that the statement of the *Purāṇas* that the Sātavāhanas "will destroy the remains of the Śuṅga's power", refers to the Śuṅgas of Vidiśā and the Śuṅgas of Ayodhya continuously enjoyed their political status until they were ousted by the Dattas. A. Banerji-Shastri is not inclined to the take Dhanadeva as a Śuṅga king because -mitra is conspicously absent from the end of his name.[59] Against this supposition it may be said that not all the successors of Pushyamitra had -mitra ending names.[60] N.G. Majumdar designated Dhanadeva and the members of his family as 'the later Śuṅgas of Kosala.[61] But I am afraid, this may create confusion in the mind of readers since the successors of Pushyamitra are also known as the 'Later Śuṅgas.'[62] Jagannath rightly calls them as the 'Śuṅgas of Kosala.'[63]

Now let us see, by whom this region was set free. Bāṇa states that Sumitra, identical with Vasumitra, the son of Agnimitra, being very fond of music and dacing, was murdered by a person in a concert.[64] This assassin is named as Mitradeva in the Kashmir MSS. whereas "three out of the four MSS. belonging to the same family and derived from one Indian *codex archetypus* and one of the MSS. of Śaṅkara's commentary collated by Führer, give the name as Mūladeva."[65] The name Mitradeva is accepted by Rapson,[66] Mookherji[67] and Chattopadhyaya[68] but Jagannath[69] and Gupta[70] favour Mūladeva. The former also writes, that the variant Mitradeva, does not appear to be the proper name but it is a scribal substitute on the analogy of expressions like *Gauḍādhip* or *Magadhanātha* meaning the Mitra = Śuṅga king."[71]

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Rapson, taking the name as Mitradeva, conjectures: "but it seems not improbable that he may have been the king's minister and Kāṇva Brāhmaṇa of the same family as Vāsudeva, who is said to have brought about the fall of the dynasty through the assassination of the last king Devabhūti. It may be that we have here an indication of the growth of that influence, which so often in Indian History has transferred the real power in the state from the prince to the minister, from the Kshatriya to the Brāhmaṇa."[72] Jagannath holds: "This Mūladeva is in all probability identical with the king whose coins have been found at Ayodhya and may be regarded as a predecessor of Dhanadeva."[73] Certainly the murder of Sumitra by a person in guise af an actor was because of the purpose to capture the Śuṅga throne but neither the Purāṇas nor any other evidence reveal that a king named Mitradeva ruled just after Sumitra died, i. e. 123 B. C., over an area that was part of the Śuṅga dominion. A coin with the legend *Mitra* is reported from the collection of the Allahabad Municipal Museum. It has, on the obverse, "at the top, tree-in-railing laid on its side; below the railing of the tree and above the legend a three pronged symbol, with a triangle without base line below, also laid on its side" and, on the reverse, "bull to right above traces of Ujjain symbol." Altekar, to establish the name of the issuer as Mitra, writes : "It may be argued that there is space for one letter before *mita*, midway between *ma* and the left edge of the coin; but there are faint traces of an incuse line between them, which leaves hardly any space for another letter. To the left of *ma* beyond the vertical incuse line, what appears to be traces of a letter are most probably the traces of a symbol. It therefore appears that the present coin was issued by a king named Mitra, without any adjunct before that term." This coin, on typological ground, is correctly assigned to Kauśāmbī. But we cannot agree with the surmise of Altekar : "Can it be that he was the first king of the mitra series of Kauśāmbī, with Mitra alone as his proper name, and that his successors started adding prefixes to that term to distinguish themselves from him ?"[74] The coins of Kauśāmbī belong to two classes, cast coins and die-struck coins.[75] Bela Lahiri rightly observes : "Among the early cast pieces, the majority of which are uninscribed, there are some inscribed ones bearing the name of the city of Kauśāmbī and of two rulers, Sudeva and Bahasatimita. The obverse of these coins bears the figure of an elephant on pedestal along with several symbols including two triangle-headed standard and the Ujjain symbol of the reverse symbols, the tree-in-railing is common to all, others varying on different coins."[76] Since the coin of Mitra is die-struck, it has to be placed after these cast coins. Hence he cannot be regarded as the liberator of the Vatsa kingdom. If we also remember

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that Sāketa was the provincial head-quarters of the Śungas,[77] Kosala with Sāketa as its capital became independent in the closing decades of the 2nd century B. C. and one Mūladeva existed in the Kosalan house and that he was earliest ruler Sumitra's assassin can well be taken as Mūladeva.

The Dattas flourished after the Devas is attested by the evidence of the numismatics : *firstly,* the Devas minted all their coins in square shape whereas the Dattas also issued their coins in this shape with one exception that was made rounded and the round shape was the characteristic of the coins of the second series struck by the die-struck technique; *secondly*, some of the coins of the Devas are more worn out than those of the Dattas; *thirdly*, the coin type, elephant and tree, was adopted by only two Deva kings, Śivadeva and Pathad-(eva), and all the Datta kings except Śivadatta, who seems to have been the last of this series since he minted the rounded coin; and *lastly*, the size of the coins reduced by Śivadeva became the feature of the coins of Pathad(eva) and all the Dattas.[78]

Among the Devas, Mūladeva, Vāyudeva and Viśākhadeva seem to have ruled before the other Deva kings because their coins are heavily worn out than the issues of Śivadeva and Pathad(eva), and Dhanadeva's coins are worn as well as fresh. Hence Dhanadeva seems to have intervened between them. Further, the standard depicted infront of the animal on the obverse of Mūladeva's coins is similar to that occurs on the coins of Vāyudeva. The reverse of the coins of Mūladeva contains a wheel in the centre, tree-in-railing on the right and a symbol resembling fish hook with cross bottom and appended arms on the left, below a wavy line and above three symbols, they are Ujjain symbol, *Svastika* and an uncertain mark. The reverse of Vāyudeva's coins has four *triratnas* facing in the opposite directions round a small circle in place of wheel; the devices on the right, left and below are the same; the symbols depicted above appear to be two in number and they are *Svastikas.* Hence both of them seem to have been the earliest rulers of the Deva family and they cannot be separated from each other in time. The tree-in-railing represented on the coins of Vāyudeva is similar to that which occurs on the coins of Viśākhadeva rather than of Mūladeva. Thus Mūladeva can be considered as the first ruler.[79]

The identification of this king Mūladeva, who was, perhaps, the grandson of Pushyamitra, with Mūladeva of *Harshacharita* reveals that Mūladeva established the rule of his lineage by murdering, possibly his cousin, Sumitra in 123 B.C.[80] Since he was the hero of the conspiracy it can be presumed that prior to his proclamation of kingship, perhaps he was a high official of the Śuṅgas. And,

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as he ruled probably over a part of the Kosala province and not the entire Śuṅga kingdom, it can be said that he organised the plot for the murder of Sumitra when the latter visited Saketa. His coins are obtained only from Ayodhya. Can we assume on this basis that his authority did not extend over the entire province of Kosala ?

We do not know about the predecessor of Mūladeva. However, it seems plausible that he was another son of Pushyamitra. Chattopadhyaya says : "Princes of the royal blood were appointed governors in the provinces. Pushyamitra's son Agnimitra was one such governor in the province of Vidiśā, while another of same rank may have been the governor of Ayodhya."[81] Since Mūladeva arranged the conspiracy at Sāketa, we can assume that he and his father were appointed as the governors of this region, one after the other. The Ayodhya inscription[82] evidently shows that the region was governed by a branch of the Śuṅgas, and as such it may be presumed that Mūladeva, one of the early governors asserted his independence.

Vāyudeva, Viśākhadeva, Dhanadeva, Śivadeva and Pathad(eva) possibly belonged to the lineage of Mūladeva, as the deva ending and the use of *Svastika* symbol on their coins suggest. Of these Vāyudeva succeeded Mūladeva. He was third in ascent from Dhanadeva. His coins are also found from Ayodhya only.

Perhaps Vāyudeva was followed by Viśākhadeva. The latter's one of the types, 'Bull and Solar', is similar to that of Mūladeva's coins and the shape of the standard represented infront of the bull on the obverse is identical to the standard shown on the coins of Mūladeva and Vāyudeva. He introduced the groups of seven, six and five symbols on the reverses of his coins. He generally depicted either a pair of snakes or a solar symbol with a central boss surrounded by a circle of dots within rims in the centre. Sometimes he also stamped Ujjain symbol on this place. Among his three types, on the reverse of two, the symbols on the right, left and below are the same as those represented on the coins of Mūladeva and Vāyudeva. It is to be mentiond that Tregear obtained, of Ayodhya, only the coins of Viśākhadeva and Dhanadeva from the vicinity of Jaunpur.[83] Worthy to be noted are that the tree-in-railing on the coins of Viśākhadeva is identical to that shown on the coins of Vāyudeva and the coins of Viśākhadeva are worn whereas the issues of Dhanadeva are worn and fresh. Therefore, Viśākhadeva seems to have preceded Dhanadeva and he may be taken as the second in ascent from the latter. The discovery of his coins from the vicinity of Jaunpur suggests that he extended his power beyond the present district of Faizabad or atleast over the

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district of Jaunpur. One coin of Viśākhadeva occurs in the coin cabinet of Allahabad Museum.[84] Probably this coin was obtained from the neighbourhood of Allahabad. It is difficult to ascertain whether this ruler extended his authority over Vatsa or the coin merely travelled there.[85]

Viśākhadeva was succeeded by Phalgudeva. No regal title is given to him in the epigraph. Regarding the genealogical identification of Phalgudeva there are three views : 1. Phalgudeva was the father of Dhanadeva.[86] 2. "In any case Phalgudeva would be the father of Pushyamitra".[87] 3. He was "the father of queen consort" of Dhanadeva, as he reads *dharma rājñī* inplace of *dharma-rājñā*.[88] Ratnakar feels that Phalgudeva was the name of a deity,[89] But, now the accepted fact that Dhanadeva was the sixth in descent from Pushyamitra clearly shows that Phalgudeva was the father of Dhanadeva.

The inscription referred to above contains the name of the issuer as Dharmarāja[90] Kausikīputra Dhana- -, king of Kosala.[91] Jagannath holds that "the concluding portion of the name is lost."[92] Jayaswal remarks : "The portion after Dhana is also concealed by a projection of the wooden frame. The area concealed on the right-hand end is about $2\frac{1}{2}$", and in the opinion of Ghosh (deputed to prepare its impression)[93], there is a place "just enough for three letters or so".[94] Further the facts that his father had deva ending name, and the historicity of one Dhanadeva is established in the Kosalan house, lead us to restore the name of this king as Dhanadeva and identifiy with Dhanadeva of the coins. He was "sixth in descent from Pushyamitra." This king erected a monument in the memory of his father.[95]

Dhanadeva not only depicted the groups of seven, six and five symbols on the reverse of his coin-types but also continued *svastika,* Ujjain symbol, *triratna,* tree-in-railing and a symbol resembling fish hook with cross base and appended arms that occurred on the currencies of his predecessors, though arranged them differently. Jagannath takes king Indrāgnimitra of the Bodh Gaya inscription 'as an elder or younger brother of Dhanadeva'[96] because he was also Kausakīputra. Bhadramagha[97] and a king of Andhra,[98] probably a Sātavāhana prince, call themselves Kauśikiputra. Can we identify them as the brothers of Dhanadeva? In fact it was a phenomenon of this age to add matronymic to the personal name. The above scholar also feels that the coins bearing the name of Dhanadeva found at Kauśāmbī belong to this Dhanadeva though "that is not a proof of his rule over that region, for coins very often travel far beyond the limits of the country of their origin."[99] But on the typological ground these coins cannot be attributed to Ayodhya and therefore, Allan rightly takes

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him as the local ruler of Kauśāṁbī.[100] Similarly Dhanadeva of the seals[101] cannot be identified with Dhanadeva of Ayodhya since they have three arched hill that occurs on the Kauśāṁbī coins. Besides Ayodhya,[102] his coins are found from Jaunpur[103], Śrāvastī[104] and Allahabad.[105] This shows that he not only ruled over the kingdom formed by Viśākhadeva but, probably, also extended it. Gupta writes: "Since Śrāvastī and Ayodhyā were both the capitals of the same kingdom of Kosala, it is but natural to find here the coins of the types that are well knewn as the coins of Ayodhyā."[106] As no coin of the earlier rulers is found from here, can we not presume that northern Kosala was brought under the control of the Devas in the time of Dhanadeva? Undoubtedly he 'was the lord of Kosala.' About the discovery of his coins from Allahabad we can say, if it is assumed that Viśākhadeva extended his authority over Vatsa it can be held, that this region continued in the kingdom of the Śuṅgas of Kosala till the time of Dhanadeva. The Bharhut Toraṇa inscription of Dhanabhūti shows that Bharhut was included in the kingdom of the Śuṅgas of Kosala.[107]

Śivadeva[108] and Pathad(eva) issued their coins in one type, Elephant and Tree. The reverse of this type—tree in centre, a symbol resembling fish hook with cross-botom and two appended arms near the top on the left, *svastika* in between the above two and an uncertain mark on the right of tree—was continued by Naradatta and Jyeshṭhadatta. Śivadeva and Pathadeva also reduced the size of the coins which became the feature of the Datta coinage. The obverses of the coins of both the kings are identical. Hence they flourished after Dhanadeva.

The rule of the Deva kings covered a period of more than a century that started in 123 B. C. and were probably overthrown by a king of the Datta dynasty in the end of the first century B. C.[109]

References

1. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, 2 Ed., p. 30.
2. R.C. Majumdar shows that the reign of Śiśunāga began in 430 B.C. (*ibid*, p. 38). According to the Sinhalese Chronicles Śiśunāga ruled for 18 years whereas the Purāṇas assign him a reign of 40 years. On these contradictory statements, Majumdar remarks : It is in any case impossible to rely implicity on any of these sources. It is, however, likely that the Sinhalese Buddhists had a more or less correct tradition about the dates of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, as these were intimately associated with Buddha (*ibid*). Hence Śiśunāga may be taken to have ruled from either 430 to 390 or 430 to 412 B.C.
3. The facts that the Yavana besieged Sāketa (*Mahābhāshya* on Pāṇini, III. 2. III), the coins of Mūladeva who assassinated the Śuṅga ruler Sumitra are recovered at Ayodhya (*A Comprehensive History of India*) Ed., II, pp. 100-1, 103) and the epigraph

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of Dhanadeva found at this place not only call himself as the sixth, in descent, from Pushyamitra but also records to the performances of the latter's two horse sacrifices, make it evident that Sāketa was the provincial head-quarters of the Śuṅgas. (*Select Inscriptions*, 1942, p. 96).

3a. F. E. Pargiter, *Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, London, 1913.

4. Jagannath writes : "This form of the name is given by Bāṇa and some MSS. of the Purāṇas and is preferable on palaeographical grounds. Kālidasa and the majority of Puāṇna *MSS.* have Vasumitra, which, however, appears to be a seribal error—a Gupta *ch* having been mistaken for a *v* and tagged on to the name" (*A Comprehensive History of India*, Ed., II, p 100, fn. 4).

4a. *Ibid*, pp. 100, 101, 105. 5. *JASB*, XLIX, p. 138; *CAI*, pp. 90 ff; *BMC, AI*, pp. 129 ff; *IMC*, I, pp. 148 ff. 6. *ASI, AR*, 1908-9, p. 35; *JNSI*, XIII, pt. II, p. 140. 7. *JASB*, VII, pp. 1052-3.

8. *IHQ*, XXIX, p. 216. 9. *JNSI*, VIII, pt. I, p. 14; XIII, pt. II, p. 197; XXIII, p. 416. 10. *JNSI*, pt. II, p. 121.

11. *Report on Kumrahar Excavations* 1951-1955, p. 99.

12. The characters read on his coins are *pa, tha* and *da*. Allan holds that the name "is possibly Pathadeva" (*BMC, AI*, p. lxxxix).

13. *EI*, XX, p. 57. 14. *IHQ*, VII, p. 552.

15. *JNSI*, VIII, pt. II, p. 14. 16. *Infra*.

17. Majumdar writes : "If we add to this fact the preformance of two horse sacrifices by Pushyamitra, it would not be unreasonable inference that the Magadhan empire under Pushyamitra was a very extensive one and might not inconceivably have extended from Bihar to the Panjab," *JNSI*, XXII, p. 52; Narain also holds that Pushyamitra was able to control three administrative centres, Pāṭaliputra, Ayodhyā and Vidiśā., *The Indo-Greeks*, p. 10.

18. *JBORS*, X, p. 204; *ABOI*, VII, p. 163; *The Age of the Imperial Unity*, Ed., p. 173; *A Comprehensive History of India*, Ed., p. 105.

19. *JBORS*, X, pp. 202-8. 20. *ABOI*, VII, p. 160.

21. *EI*, XX, pp. 54 ff. 22. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Ed., p. 174.

23. *A Comprehensive History of India*, Ed. pp. 94 ff.

24. *ABOI*, VII, pp. 160-3; *Select Inscriptions*, p. 96 fn. 3.; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Ed., p. 173.

25. *CAI*, p. 91. 26. *IMC*, I, p. 144. 27. *BMC, AI*, p. lxxxix.

28. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 54. 29. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 174-5,

29a. *Indian Palaeography*, p. 62. 30. *ABORI*, VII, p. 160.

31. *The Indo-Greeks*, p. 91. fn. 7.

32. Dani holds that Ayodhya inscription "derived the new technique from the Śaka Kshatrapa inscriptions of Mathura, i.e. in the first half of the first century A.D.", *Indian Palaeography*, p. 59.

33. *The Palaeography of Brāhmī Script*, p. 84. 34. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 96.

35. *A Comprehensive History of India*, Ed. p. 105.

36. *The Indo Greeks*, p. 83; Narain writes that "the defeat of the Indo-Greeks on the Sindhu (Kāli Sindhu) must have taken place during the last years of the reign of

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Pushyamitra (184-148 B.C.) and it is likely that the second horse-sacrifice was performed by him during the very end of his reign, when Vasumitra was old enough to take charge of the sacrificial horse."

37. He writes : Śālisūka, "according to the *Vishṇupurāṇa*, was the fourth in descent from Aśoka and third in ascent from the last Maurya king Bṛihadratha", *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Ed. pp. 106-7.
38. *A Comprehensive History of India*, Ed., II, pp. 48, 95.
39. *Ibid*, p. 43. 40. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Ed., p. 159.
41. *JAIH*, IV, pp. 169 ff. 42. *Nāgarī Pracharinī Patrikā*, V, pt. I, pp. 99-104.
43. *JBORS*, I, pp. 204 ff. 44. *JBORS*, XIII, p. 207.
45. *ABORI*, VII, pp. 161.2. 46. Quoted in *ABORI*, VII, pp. 162.
47. *Ibid* 48. *Nāgarī Prachārinī Patrikā*, V, pp. 101-2.
49. *A Comprehensive History of India*, Ed., p. 105.
50. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 96, fn. 3.
51. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Ed., pp. 173-4; p. 95, fn. 3.
52. *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India*, Ed., p. 154.
53. *JNSI*, XXXI, pt. II, pp. 149-50. 54. *Infra*.
55. *ABOI*, VII, p. 163. 56. *DKA*, p. 71. 57. *The Stupa of Bharhut*, pp. 16, 126.
58. *Select Inscriptions*, 1965, p. 88, Dani assigns it to the early first century A.D. *Indian Palaeography*, pp. 57-58. But the existence of the palaeographic traits of the first century B.C. in this epigraph place it in the second half of the first century B.C.

58a. *Bharhut Stupa*, p. 128; see also, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 88.

59. *Modern Review*, 1925, pp. 59-60 quoted in *EI*, XX, p. 56.
60. Sujyeshṭha, Bhāgavata and Devabhūti. 61. *ABOI*, VII, p. 163.
62. *Early History of Northern India*, p. 31, *JAIH*, IV, p. 175 fn. 3.
63. *A Comprehensive History of India*, Ed., p. 105.
64. E.B Cowell and F.W. Thomes, *The Harsha Charita of Bāṇa*, 1961, p. 192.
65. *A Comprehensive History of India*, Ed., p. 100, fn 5.
66. *The Cambridge History of India*, Ed., I, p. 521.
67. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Ed., p. 97. 68. *Early History of Northern India*, p. 31.
69. *A Comprehensive History of India*, Ed., pp. 100, 105.
70. *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India*, Ed., p. 154.
71. *A Comprehensive History of India*, Ed. pp. 100-101, fn. 7.
72. *The Cambridge History of India*, Ed., p 521.
73. *A Comprehensive History of India*, Ed., II, pp. 100-1.
74. *JNSI*, VIII, pt. II, pp. 7-8. 75. *BMC, AI*, pp. 148 ff.
76. *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India*, Ed., p. 37.
77. Chattopadhyaya writes : The Ayodhya inscription of Dhanadeva calls its issuer "as the sixth in descent from Pushyamitra and also as Kośalādhipa, and also as coins of various rulers have been discovered in Ayodhya pointing to their independent states and evidently an independent dynasty, it may be inferred that originally Ayodhya was a province in the empire of Pushyamitra but later became independent," *Early History of Northern India*, p. 28.
78. See fn. 5 to 9. 79. See, my book entitled, *Coins of Ayodhya* to be published.

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80. *A Comprehensive History of India*, Ed., p. 101.
81. *Early History of Northern India*, Ed , pp. 13-14. 82. *Ibid*, p. 28.
83. *JASB*, VII, pp. 1052-3. 84. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 416.
85. Gupta writes : "Mere find of a coin or two at a place, does not necessarily show that it originated there. It would be wrong to presume that copper coins never travel far from the place of their origin. Many coins belonging to Ayodhya series are known from Kausambi," *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India*, Ed. p. 149. 86. *JBORS* (1924), X, p. 205. 87. *Modern Review* (1924), p. 431 fn. 88. *JBORS* (1927), XIII, p. 247.
89. *Nāgarī Pracharinī Patrikā*, V, pt I, p. 103.
90. Jayaswal reads "dharmarājñi (instead of Dharmarājña)" *JBORS*, XIII, p. 247.
91. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 96; *EI*, XX, p. 57.
92. *A Comprehensive History of India*, Ed., p. 105.
93. Bracketted words are mine. 94. *JBORS*, X, p. 204.
95. *Pituḥ Phalgudevsya Ketanaṁ Kāritaṁ*, *EI*, XX, p. 57.
96. *A Comprehensive History of India*, Ed., p. 105. 97. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 176.
98. *JNSI*, XIII, p. 119; 133 ff.
99. *A Comprehensive History of India*, Ed., p. 105. 100. *BMC, AI*, p. 153.
101. *JNSI*, XXI, pp. 187-8; XXIII, p. 412. 102. *CAI*, p. 91.
103. *JASB*, VII, p. 1052. 104. *JNSI*, XIII, p. 140. 105. *Ibid*, p. 197.
106. *Ibid*, p. 140. 107. *JNSI*, XXXI, pt. II, p. 150.
108. This name is read by me on certain coins.
109. The history of the later dynasties of Kosala will be delt elsewhere.

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DEFINING FEUDALISM IN THE CONTEXT OF EARLY MEDIEVAL INDIA

KRISHNA KANTI GOPAL

The question which often agitates the mind of a student of Indian history is whether the term feudalism may be used to describe the political institutions existing in northern India in the early medieval period. Though no full-length study of the conditions existing in India has so far been offered,[1] this has not prevented scholars from passing their judgements on the question. The opinions of scholars vary widely. On the one hand we have the view of P. Nath[1a] that even in ancient times covered by the epics, the *Arthaśāstra* and the Greek accounts, India was divided into feudal estates. On the other extreme we have the view advocated by P. Saran[2] who holds that the feudal features arose in the political organisation of the Rajputs only in the Muslim period in obscure circumstances and that before that period there were no traces of any feudalistic institution. Even in some of the standard text-books on this period the term feudalism is used to describe conditions without taking into consideration the full implications of the term[3]. But significantly enough in the two volumes of the *History and Culture of the Indian People* which cover the early medieval period the term feudalism is not used in the relevant chapters.

A study of the relevant evidence shows that there are certain close resemblances between the institutions of India in the early medieval period and those of Europe in the later part of the middle ages. But at the same time it has to be recognised that the resemblances do not cover all the aspects of the feudal institutions and there are significant differences not only in details but also in some of the essentials.

On the side of similarity we can point out that in early medieval India the ideal of empire based on the acceptance of the overlordship of one emperor by the subordinate rulers had led to the fragmentation of political power. The references to petty chiefs such as *bhogikas* and *rāutas* would indicate that the real political power in this period was enjoyed by a landed aristocracy. Thus, we see that the actual, if not the legal basis of political power was to a considerable extent based upon land. Coulborn[4] writes : "Since personal contacts are important in feudal government, it tends to be more effective at the local level where such

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contacts are easy and frequent. Since political power is personal rather than institutional, there is relatively little separation of functions; the military leader is usually an administrator and the administrator is usually a judge". In India we find that the land granted as religious endowments, subject to certain condition, was not to be interfered with by the state servants. The secular grants followed the privileges of religious grants. The list of privileges and rights enjoyed by these grantees indicate that they not only realised the different state dues but also had a right to the proceeds of judicial cases and also claimed some dues for administration. They are specifically described as free from the administrative control of the officers of the central government. Thus, it is clear that these grantee combined in themselves a number of functions.

In the second place, we notice that the feudal polity in medieval Europe is characterised by the system of assigning fiefs for military service. As has been rightly observed,[5] "the more the monarch can administer by means of a bureaucracy, and a paid army the more 'absolute' his power is; the more he has to decentralise administration, grant fiefs and benefices in return for services and confirm land ownership on the same terms, the more he approximates to 'feudalism' in the political sense, and beyond feudalism if the power of the monarch is weak, and his administrative organisation immature, lies that threat of anarchy which besets the policy of the feudal king," In India we find that land was granted to feudatories, kinsmen and officers with obligations to render military service.

In the third place, we know that "there are usually marked distinctions within the aristocracy; even in the simplest feudal society there are leaders and followers and in a highly developed society, such as that of Western Europe, many more gradations may be found."[6] We notice that in India also there was a complicated series of feudatory and overlord relationships. We have references showing that feudatories of a sovereign king had their own feudatories and that there were several grades of them.

R. Coulborn[7] observes that in theory and occasionally in practice, the feudal aristocracy can be an aristocracy of ability; actually, in all feudal societies there has been a strong, almost irresistible tendency towards heredity of function. The existing land-grants indicate that in India village assignments were made on religious occassions often to learned and pious Brāhmaṇas. In the case of officers and feudatories we have cases where such grants were made for meritorious service. As regards appointment of officers we do find that though there was no legal principle of hereditary appointment, the posts

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being said to have been conferred on a person deserving them, we do see a tendency that the higher posts often tended to be monopolised by some families. The legal works, in emphasising that hereditary principle should not be respected in making appointments, in a way recognise that in practice heredity did matter much.

Further, we do find resemblances in the matter of some of the obligations which a feudatory owed to his overlord and also in the rights which the overlord claimed and exercised over his feudatory and the territory enjoyed by the latter.

The ideal of chivalry which is known to have been associated with European knights during the feudal period is found to have been current in India also.

As pointed out by W. J. H. Sprout[8] "common to all uses of the word (feudalism) is the implication of an agricultural society in which there are large estates, cultivated by persons in varying degrees of servitude and with varying obligations." In some of the inscriptions from Orissa and Rajputana we find that the peasants and villagers were occupying a status similar to that of villeins under European feudal order.

Feudalism in its wider sense is sometimes taken to stand for a self-sufficient natural economy by contrast to money economy. We find that even in this sense the term may be used to describe the conditions of the early medieval period in the history of India. It is well known that the coins of this period are not found in abundance, are generally debased in metal and reveal considerable decrease in weight when compared to the standard weight. We find that even some of the important dynasties of the period did not issue a regular coinage. It seems that not all the members of a dynasty but only a few of them, sometimes only one, issued the coins. Moreover, these coins were mostly in one or two metals and only rarely in all the three metals. Again, we do not find the different denominations of a coin which form a regular series. The testimony of foreign writers and indigenous literature alike shows that in place of coined money cowries were generally used for exchange in small transactions. All this may indicate that the economy of the country was tending towards a natural one. The amount of foreign trade and also trade between the different parts of the country had decreased and as barter and cowries sufficed for much of the local demands the use of coins in the period appears to have been less than what we know of the Kushāṇa and Gupta periods.

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But these resemblances do not mean that the institutions in India agreed totally with the feudal institutions of Europe. The resemblances do not go very far. We can notice differences in the details even in respect of features that appear to be similar in the two regions.

The basic difference between the institutions of India and Europe is the fact that unlike medieval Europe in India land-tenure did not determine all social and political relations and status.

The land-grants in India which have been recovered cannot be strictly speaking described as fiefs. Under the Chāhamānas and some other dynasties we find references to members of the royal family and tribe enjoying assignments resembling fiefs but the term fief can be applied to them only in a loose sense.

Even in the matter of the obligations of a feudatory and the rights of his overlord over him we find that the detailed rules which developed under European feudalism do not appear in India. There does not appear to have been much fixed law on the point and the relations depended on their mutual power.

Further, the economic life of the period in northern India does not appear to have been affected as much as we find under European feudalism. There was still considerable use of coins, and the inland trade between different regions was by no means insignificant.

Though we have some evidence to indicate that some cultivators and village craftsmen in certain back-water areas were reduced to the status of villeins, we do not find that this practice prevailed in all the areas. Moreover, the evidence does not always imply that even in the recorded cases all the peasants in a village were reduced to this status.

Even in England the public law is found working against localism which often grows as a characteristic symptom of feudalism. But in India in the early medieval period like other periods the hold of the *dharmaśāstra* works and the legal and social ideals advocated in them exercised a profound check over justice, social usage and property law and prevented them from getting completely feudalised.

R. Coulborn[9] points out that feudalism can be described as a series of responses to certain kinds of challenge. A challenge which affected a good many societies was that of the decay or weakening of a highly organised political system—an empire or a relatively large kingdom. The spasms of disinte-

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gration of such a system can sometimes produce by way of response a series of moves towards reconstruction which lead in a feudal direction. The institutions in India differ from European feudalism in the sense that here the imperial administrative machinery did not collapse to the extent one finds in Europe. No doubt there were many small principalities in northern India and there was no paramount power in all the centuries forming the early medieval period. But these principalities maintained their administrative set up intact to a considerable extent. In the land-grants of these dynasties we find lists of officers which testifies to the presence of a bureaucracy under them. Sometimes we find specific references to officers being appointed to posts. Thus, the bureaucracy in India does not appear to have been completely feudalised.

It would therefore appear that the institutions in early medieval India are not identical with feudalism in medieval Europe. It cannot be denied, however, that there were certain feudal features in Indian institutions. If the term feudalism is used not very strictly to cover all the details which are commonly associated with European feudalism we may apply the term feudalism to describe conditions in India as well. It is to be noted that the feudal institutions in Europe also do not reveal a uniform system but embrace wide differences. The feudal practices vary so much according to time and place that it has been difficult for historians to bring them under a uniform description. It is well known that in view of these variations F.W. Maitland[10] suggested that the feudal institutions could be called only a complex and not a system. If a concession is made to these variations the term feudalism may be used to signify the institutions of early medieval India. But in view of the differences, which at times appear to have been of a basic character we may, to be on the safer side, use the expression quasi-feudalism, as is suggested by Professor A. L. Basham.[11]

D. D. Kosmbi[12] divides the history of feudalism in India into two phases—feudalism from above and feudalism from below. The first is the earlier phase covering the period from the early fourth to the middle of the eighth centuries whereas the second phase covers the subsequent period merging into the present age. "Feudalism from above means a state wherein an emperor or powerful king levied tribute from subordinates who still ruled in their own territories as long as they paid the paramount ruler. These subordinate rulers might even be tribal chiefs, and seem in general to have ruled the land by direct administration, without the intermediacy of a class which was in effect a landowning stratum. By feudalism from below is meant the next stage where a

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class of land-owners developed within the village, between the state and the peasantry, gradually to wield armed power over the local population. This class was subject to military service, hence claimed a direct relationship with the state power, without the intervention of any other stratum. Taxes were collected by small intermediaries who passed on a fraction to the feudal hierarchy, in contrast to direct collection by royal officials in feudalism from above". Thus, we can say that feudalism from above stands for the tributary system and feudalism from below reflects the emergence of a landed aristocracy. The distinction drawn here is no doubt a fine one and makes clear the characteristic features. But it is to be remembered that even in the second phase we do not find that there was any considerable amount of commendation going on in India. There obviously must have been cases of village headman becoming the village lord or of a tribal chief taking advantage of the loose control of the central authority establishing himself as the local ruler. But the evidence at our disposal does not indicate that in different parts of northern India there was such a breakdown of central administration as to favour the emergence of petty chiefs holding sway over one or two villages. Thus, the emergence of feudal chiefs even in this period was mostly not from below but from above in the sense that the rise of this landed aristocracy was mostly the result of land-grants to Brāhmaṇas, officers or even feudatories for meritorious service. The landed aristocracy owed its existence to the policy of the central authority, which, for some reasons, distributed these villages among different officers, feudatories etc. It was not usually a case of the king recognising the system which emerged independent of his power. The initiative lay with the king who finding the bureaucracy and the paid army not sufficient to cope with the altered conditions decentralised administration, and granted estates in return for services with a view to maintain the show of empire and the relics of tendencies towards centralisation. The situation can be compared with the conditions under the Norman kingdom of Sicily[13] where the feudal institutions imported from France had to be imposed on a social and political system of extreme complexity. A central government of unusual strength succeeded in formulating a remarkably coherent system of feudal relationships, in which the rights and prerogatives of the lord and in particular those of the head of the state, were strongly emphasised.

Secondly, the tributary aspect of feudalism was not confined to the earlier phase, but continued in the second phase as well. Actually speaking we find that even in the second period there was a close mixture of the two phenomena. Thus, we can apply the expression feudalism from below to the

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institutions of the early medieval period only in a loose sense, to distinguish it from the earlier phase when the landed aristocracy had not evolved into a power to be reckoned with.

We would prefer to use the expression *sāmanta*-system for the institutions of the early medieval India. It serves to emphasise the distinction between Indian feudalism and that in Europe. The history of the changes in the meaning of the term reflects the two phases of feudalism spoken of by D. D. Kosambi. We find that before the seventh century the term was used for a feudatory or a subordinate ruler. After the seventh century we see that it came to stand more and more for the petty feudal chiefs. But even then the earlier association with a tributary was retained. Thus, '*sāmanta*-system' would be a happier expression than feudalism from below, because it covers both the features of the second phase of feudalism namely, the tributary system and the landed aristocracy.

References

1. Recent studies on the subject include B. P. Mazumdar, *Socio-Economic History of Northern India*, Calcutta 1960; Lanllanji Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, Varanasi 1965; R. S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, Calcutta 1965; B. N. S. Yadava—*Society and Culture in Northern India in the twelfth Century*, Allahabad 1973.

1a. *Economic Conditions of Ancient India*, pp. 2, 6, 120.

2. *I.C.*, XIII. 73-78.

3. Ishwari Prasad, *History of Medieval India*, pp. 35-36.

4. *Feudalism in History*, pp. 4 f.

5. Sprott, *Sociology*, p. 64.

6. R. Coulborn, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

9. *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

10. *The Constitutional History of England*, p. 143.

11. *The Wonder that was India*, p. 93.

12. *An Introduction to the study of Indian History*, Chs. IX and X. See p. 275.

13. Ganshoff, *Feudalism*, pp. 59 f.

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THE JINIST DREAM-WORLD : A TENTATIVE ANALYSIS

JAGDISH P. SHARMA

"A hungry man sees nothing but food in his dream"
—*A Hindi proverb*

"O my sister ! the widower cried out at midnight—
He saw a young woman in his dream."
—*A North Indian folk song*

Introduction

The study of dreams has enjoyed a robust growth in the West, since Freud published his classic study on *The Interpretation of Dreams* in 1900. Carl Jung, Erich Fromm and others have further broadened the scope and dimension of dream-studies by incorporating mythological and, however selected, some non-Western dream-material in their numerous writings. In fact, Jung[1] is quite explicit about this broader approach to dream-interpretation when he says: "I consider it [dream-interpretation] impossible for anyone without knowledge of mythology and folklore, and without some understanding of the psychology of primitives and of comparative religion to grasp the essence of the individuation process....".[1a] Fromm utilized specific Indian dream-material, both Brahmanical and Buddhist, in his books, such as *The Forgotten Language* (1951).

In the light of the above discussion of the importance of dream-studies in the West, which have inaugurated a new field of research, it will be impossible to attempt any dream-study without taking cognizance of this literature, even if the subject matter of our study is exclusively oriental and time-period, entirely traditional. In fact, it is the studies of these prominent western dream-interpreters which provoked my interest in Jinist dreams, apart from a very strong and persistent tradition of dreams in Jinist literature over the past two thousand years.

However, even a cursory study of western dream literature will show that the non-western dream-material used in their studies is rather selected as well as meagre. Therefore, our actual knowledge and psycho-analytic approach to the interpretation of oriental dreams has not been directly enhanced by these studies. Nevertheless, they help us organize our dream-material in a more

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systematic manner, make us aware of the range of questions that can be asked of our material in order to understand the individual and cultural context of the dreams and dreamers. In short, they provide us with a novel and sophisticated framework of approach to the study of dreams no matter in what cultural contexts they occur. Thus, they lend immense indirect help in our interpretation.

The dreams are recognized to be a universal human phenomenon[2]. But the nature and content of dreams are determined by the circumstances and values of each culture. The meanings of symbols and dream-interpretation are conditioned by unique historical experience of each culture, (and of different communities in that culture). Professor Dodds has expressed this concept rather well in his excellent, though somewhat controversial study of *The Greeks and The Irrational* (1966). He wrote that side by side with the familiar anxiety-and wish-fulfillment dreams that are common to humanity, "there are others whose manifest content....is determined by local culture-pattern" that "there are types of dream-structure which depend on a socially transmitted pattern of belief..." He further adds that: "Not only the choice of this or that symbol, but the nature of the dream itself, seems to conform to a rigid traditional pattern". Moreover, "it is evident that such dreams are closely related to myth, of which it has been well said that it is the dream-thinking of the people, as the dream is the myth of the individual".[3]

Dodds clearly shows that, apart from the common anxiety and wish fulfillment dreams, other dreams are determined by a "local culture-pattern," that "dream-structure" depends on a "socially transmitted pattern of belief," that it conforms to a "rigid traditional pattern" and can be called "the dream-thinking of the people".

Our main purpose, in the following pages, is to collect and interest the dream-material found in what is considered perhaps the most important compendium of Jinist religion and mythology—*Trishashṭiśalākāpurushacharitra*[3a] (*Trishashṭi.* hereafter) written by the leading 12th century scholarly Jaina monk Hemachandra. The Jainas have devoted a more concentrated attention on their dream-world than scholars have noticed hitherto. It is with an overall view of attempting a comprehensive description and interpretation, however tentative, of these dreams that we have embarked on this study. A secondary purpose of this endeavour is also to make Jinist dream-material available to the Western dream-interpreter in the hope that someone might take interest in them and provide a more authoritative analysis of these dreams than I would be able to present here.

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Historical Context of the Dreams

It is curious to notice that despite a persistent tradition of dreams for about two thousand years and a generality of Jaina believe in them,[4] no scholar writing on Jinism has given them a serious attention.

One of the most popular types of myths in Jinism deals with dreams that the mothers of Jaina heroes see at the time of their conception. There are sixty-three (*Trishashṭi*) such recognized heroes—"illustrious persons" or "men of mark" [*śalākāpurushas* of the Śvetāmbaras and *lakshaṇapurushas* of the Digambaras] divided into five categories: (1) the victors (*Jinas*) or path-makers (*Tīrthaṅkaras*), (2) universal monarchs (*Chakravartins*), (3) the helpers of the monarchs (*Vāsudevas*), (4) half brothers and helpers of helpers (*Baladevas*), and (5) the rivals of the helpers (*Prati-Vasūdevas*). The mothers of the Jinas and Chakravartins both see "fourteen great dreams" at the night of their conception, while the mothers of the Vāsudevas and Baladevas see only seven and four dreams respectively (out of the same fourteen dreams). However, the mothers of the Praṭi-Vāsudevas, the anti-heroes or "villains" in Jinism do not seem to see any dream at all—at least none is mentioned in Hemachandra's bulky work. Yet they are counted among the heroes because of the fact that they were rivals and victims of the great heroes and are thus, necessarily involved in the lives and activities of the Vāsudevas.[5]

In his immense mythological encyclopedia, Hemachandra himself refers to dreams no less than 79 times, both individual and serial dreams, dream-science, dream experts, astrologers, and dream interpretations. Most of these concern the heroes but some of them also relate to prophetic dreams, i.e., the dreams in which some divine figure appears and commands or forbids the dreamer to take a certain course of action. Hemachandra, however, was not the innovator in the Jinist world of dreams. He was merely passing on a tradition that had existed for over a millennium before he wrote and that tradition has continued to exist down to our own times. The Jinist Canon makes no mention of the dreams whatever. In fact, in the earliest record of the life of Mahāvīra, the last and 24th Jina who was a contemporary of the Buddha, no mention is made of events prior to his entrance into the Order of Monks.

An historical reconstruction of the four stages in the development of Mahāvīra's biography by Bool Chand has clearly shown that it was the famous author of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, Bhadrabāhu, who first introduced "the new

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element of the fourteen dreams" in the life of Mahāvīra. He is reckoned as one of the earliest teachers and most prominent author among the Jainas[6]. He is said to have been the sixth teacher after Mahāvīra, and to have died only 170 years after Mahāvīra's own liberation. Bhadrabāhu was a contemporary of the Mauryan Emperor Chandragupta (*c. 322-298* B.C). He was definitely the author of at least that section of the *Kalpa Sūtra* which deals with the "Lives of the Jinas" and contains the first and the earliest account of the great dreams.[7] These are the dreams of (1) an elephant, (2) a bull, (3) a lion, (4) the annointing of the goddess Śrī, (5) a garland, (6) the moon, (7) the sun, (8) a flag, (9) a vase, (10) a lotus lake, (11) the ocean, (12) a celestial palace, (13) heap of jewels, and (14) a flame which a Tīrthaṅkara's mother was believed to have seen[8]. To these the Digambaras add an additional two, those of (15) a throne of diamonds and rubies, and also of (16) a great king of the gods dwelling below the earth.[9]

Preceding all the dreams associated with the conception of Mahāvīra, is a myth regarding the "transfer of the embryo" which forms the model for all other myths regarding the conception of the Jinas and other heroes. The following version of the embryo transfer is found in the early Śvetāmbara text of the *Āchārāṅgasūtra* :

> ....the compassionate god [Indra], reflecting on what was the established custom [with regard to the birth of Tīrthaṅkaras], removed the embryo from the southern Brahmanical part of the place Kuṇḍapura to the northern Kshatriya part of the same place, rejecting the unclean matter, and retaining clean matter, lodged the fetus in the womb of Triśālā of the Vāśishṭha gotra, wife of the Kshatriya Siddhārtha, of the Kāśyapa gotra, of the clan of the Jñāṭris, and lodged the fetus of the Kshatriyāṇī Triśālā in the womb of Devānandā of the Jālandharāyaṇa gotra, wife of Brāhmaṇa Ṛishabhadatta, of the gotra of Koḍāla, in the southern brahmanical part of the place Kuṇḍapurī.[10]

The myth of "the transfer of the embryo" is mentioned by most writers who describe the birth and early life of Mahāvīra.[11] Most acknowledge the implication of the myth as giving preference to the Kshatriyas over the Brāhmaṇas. It was Jacobi who had pointed that the "idea was not an original conception of the Jainas, but it is evidently borrowed from the Purāṇic story of the transfer of the embryo of Kṛishṇa from the womb of Devakī to that of Rohiṇī".[12] This scholar further adds that "this legend is rejected as absurd by the Digambaras, but the Śvetāmbaras staunchly upheld its truth. As it is

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found in the *Āchārāṅga*, the *Kalpasūtra*, and many other books, it cannot be doubted that it is very old." Jacobi himself calls it an absurd legend and then proceeds to give his own explanation that Siddhārtha had two wives and Mahāvīra was only a step-son of Triśalā.[13] Though the legend of the transfer still figures in the historical works dealing with Mahāvīra and his times. However they seem to have rejected its validity—even though many faithful Śvetāmabara Jainas continue to believe in it—as a case of clear borrowing from Hindu sources inspired by motives of looking down upon the Brāhmaṇas and for bolstering the Kshatriya image.[14]

However, no scholar seems to have paid the same attention to the dreams (as they have to the embryo transfer) even though vast majority of the Jainas, both Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras, have continued to show deep interest and belief in them during the past two thousand years or so.

Both good and evil dreams are referred to in the Vedic literature and the *Āraṇyakas* of the *Ṛig Veda* contain a list of dreams with their significance as opposed to the "sights seen with one's own eyes."[15] But they do not record anything like the "fourteen great dreams" of the Jainas.

The Buddhists showed a similar proclivity to invent myths and legends to provide a greater appeal of the *Dharma* to the masses as did the followers of the Jinas. But in their case also, it is clear that, much like the Jinist canon, such myths and legends found no place in the Pāli *Tripiṭakas*. Professor E. J. Thomas writes :

> ... the oldest accounts of Buddha's ancestry appear to presuppose nothing abnormal about his birth, and merely speak of his being well born both on his mother's and father's side for seven generations back. According to the later legend he is born not as other human beings, but in the same way as a universal king he descends from the Tusita heaven by his own choice, and with this his father is not concerned. This is not properly a virgin birth, but it may be called parthogenetic, that is, Suddhodana was not his progenitor."[16]

Thomas also describes the dream of Buddha's mother quoting a best known, albeit later, account of the Jātaka commentary that Queen Māyā lay down on the bed and falling asleep dreamt this dream :[16a]

> The *four great kings*, it seemed, raised her together with the bed, and taking her to the Himalayas set her on the Manosilā tableland... beneath a great *sāl tree* seven leagues high ... Then their queens came

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and took her to the Anotattā lake, *bathed her* to remove human stain, robed her in *heavently clothing*, annointed her with *perfumes*, and bedecked her with *divine flowers*. Not far away in a *silver* mt., and thereon a *golden* mansion. There they prepared a *divine* bed with its head to the *east*, and laid her upon it. Now *the Bodhisatta became a white-elephant*. Not far from there is a *golden* mt., and going there he descended from it, alighted on the *silver* mt., approaching it from the direction of the *north*. In his trunk....like a *silver* rope, he held a *white lotus*, then trumpeting he entered the *golden* mansion, made a rightwise circle three times around his mother's bed, *śmote her right side*, and appeared to *enter her womb*. Thus when the moon was in the lunar mansion, he received a new existence."[17]

The dreams, or myths about dreams at the time of a hero's birth are not particularly an Indian phenomenon. Such examples can be multiplied from similar myths of Judeo-Christian and Islamic prophets, and other such figures.

Dream-contents

No other religious system, however, seems to provide the same type of dreams as those associated with the birth of their "great heroes" as does Jinism, nor do they seem to provide an example of similar "serial dreams." We have seen above that Jainas have a recognized number of heroes divided into definite categories and most of their mothers see some or all of the "fourteen great dreams" when they conceive these heroes. The above discussion also attempted to show that the myth of the dreams was first introduced by Bradrabāhu in his account of Mahāvīra's life. He, thus, appears to have set a dream -as well as a culture- pattern which have lasted for centuries.

The tradition of Mahāvīra's mother's dream was imposed upon the former Jinas as well as upon other heroes, on the basis of the fundamental pattern set by Bhadrabāhu for Mahāvīra. In order to show that virtually no change occurred in the story of the "fourteen great dreams," let us first quote Bhadrabāhu himself from his *Kalpasūtra*. Thereafter, we will quote relevant portions of Hemacandra's *Trishashti* which will reveal clearly the continuity of the tradition over a period of several centuries. In fact, if one reads the recent large scale "official Jaina biography" of Mahāvīra by *muni* Ratnaprabha Vijayaji (1948-51), one will find that the great dream pattern has continued unaltered.

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The *Kalpasūtra* records that Kshatriyāṇī Triśalā, when in her decorated room and on her fragrant flower bedecked bed, was "taking fits of sleep between sleeping and waking" she saw the following fourteen ... auspicious .... etc .... great dreams":[16b]

1. Then Triśalā saw in her first dream a fine, *enormous elephant*, possessing all lucky marks, with *strong* thighs and four *mighty* tusks; ... etc.... uttering a fine deep sound like the thunder of a big and large rain cloud.
2. Then she saw a tame, lucky *bull*, of a *whiter* hue than that of the mass of petals of the *white lotus*, etc ... He foreboded innumerable good qualities.
3. Then she saw a handsome, handsomely shaped playful *lion*, jumping from the sky towards her face ... *whiter* than a heap of pearls .... strong ... with broad and large thighs, and with full and excellent shoulders, etc...
4. Then she, with the face of the full moon, saw the *goddess of famous beauty, Srī, on top of Mount Himavat, reposing on a lotus in the lotus lake, anointed with the water from the strong and large trunks of the guardian elephants. She sat on a lofty throne*, etc. ....
5. Then she saw, coming down from the firmament, a *garland* charmingly interwoven with fresh Mandāra flowers ... etc. ...
6. And the *moon* white as cow-milk .... or a *silver*-cup . . . dispelling the compact darkness of the thickest wilderness ... such was the glorious, beautiful, resplendent full moon which the queen saw.
7. Then she saw the large *sun*, the dispeller of the mass of darkness, etc. .... who disperses evil-doers that stroll about at night, who stops the influence of cold, who always circles around Mount Meru, whose thousand rays obscure the lustre of other lights.
8. Then she saw an extremely beautiful and very large flag, a sight for all people, of a form attractive to the beholders, etc....
9. Then she saw a full *vase* of costly metal, splendent with fine *gold*, filled with *pure water* ... and shining with a bouquet of water lilies, etc....
10. Then she saw a *lake*, called *Lotus Lake*, adorned with water lilies ... it abounded with .... aquatic animals and fed fishes .... its lotuses licked by whole swarms of gay bees and mad drones. Pairs of swans,

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cranes, *chakravākas*, ducks, and many other lusty birds resorted to its waters .... etc. ....

11. Then she whose face was splendid like the moon in autumn, saw the *milk-ocean*, equalling in beauty the breast of Lakshmī, which is *white* like the mass of moon-beams . . . etc. . .
12. Then she saw a *celestial abode* excelling among the best of its kinds, like the *lotus* (among flowers) etc. . . .
13. Then she saw an *enormous leap of jewels* .... Its base was on the level of the earth, and it illuminated with its jewels even the sphere of the sky. It was high and resembled Mt. Meru.
14. And a *fire*. She saw a *fire in vehement motion*, fed with much-shining and honey-coloured ghee, *smokeless*, crackling, and extremely beautiful with its burning flames....etc....

After having seen these fine, beautiful, lovely, handsome dreams, the lotus-eyed queen awoke on her bed while the hair of her body bristled for joy.

Every monther of a Tīrthankara sees these fourteen dreams in that night in which the famous Arhat enters her womb."[18]

These then are the fourteen great dreams which Bhadrabāhu described. Hemachandra who wrote his encyclopedia of Jinist mythology in the later half of the 12th century[19] writes of Triśalā's dreams as follows:

> On the thirteenth day of the dark half of Āśvina, the moon being in Hastottara, the god [Indra] put the Master [Mahāvīra] secretly into Triśalā's womb [having taken it out from that of Devānandā]. An elephant, bull, Srī being sprinkled, wreath, moon, sun, flag, full-pitcher, a lotus-pond, ocean, palace, heap of jewels, and a smokeless fire—these dreams in succession the Mistress [Triśalā] saw entering her mouth.[20]

Although Hemachandra barely devotes four lines to a description of dreams which occupies a full eight-pages in the *Kalpasūtra*, the essential features—the numbers, objects and order—remain the same. Furthermore, this is not truly a proper comparison. Hemachandra's is a six-volume work on the lives of 63 Jinist heroes. The culture-pattern called for the description of dreams at the birth of heroes commanded his full attention only in the first few accounts dealing with the lives of earlier heroes. He had the first opportunity of describing the fourteen great dreams at the birth of the first Jina, Ṛishabha.

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It should be regarded as a more representative sample of Hemachandra's account of the dreams for a more relevant comparison with that of the account provided in the *Kalpasūtra*, which Hemachandra describes as follows:

Then Marudevī, asleep in her bed-chamber, saw *fourteen great dreams* on the night of the avātar.

> (First) A *bull, white*, massive-shouldered, with a long, straight tail; with a wreath of *golden* bells like lightening in an autumncloud. (Second) A King-*elephent*, four-tusked, *white*, gradually swelling, charming with a trickling stream of ichor, like a living Kailāsa. (Third) A *lion*, red-eyed, long-tongued, with a waving mane, displaying a banner among warriors, as it were, under the pretext of raising his tail. (Fourth) *The goddess whose resting-place is a lotus*, with eyes resembling lotuses (i. e. Śri), *adorned with pitchers full of water lifted up by the trunks of elephants of the quarters.* (Fifth) A *wreath* twisted from flowers of various and numerous *divine* trees like a pendant rain-bow. (Sixth) A *moon*-orb having the sky-orb resplendent with a *flood of light*, producing joy like the image of her own face. (Seventh) A *sun*, giving the delusion that it was day at that time, though it was night, destroying all darkness, having *blazing light.* (Eighth) A *flag*-staff with a fluttering pennant having a wreath of bells like an elephant with its ears flapping. (Ninth) A *pitcher of water*, a *gold* pitcher, its mouth covered with *full-blown lotuses*, resembling the pitcher of *nectar* which appeared at the churning of the ocean. (Tenth) A great *lotus-pond* became many mouths, as it were, to praise the first Arhat by means of lotuses resonant with bees. (Eleventh) An *ocean of milk* pleasing the mind with masses of high waves that were thieves of the beauty of masses of autumn clouds scattered over the earth. (Twelfth) A *havenly palace* with immense lustre, as if that palace in which the Blessed one had lived as a god had come here from former affection. (Thirteenth) A *great collection of jewels* with *radiant light* massed in the sky like a collection of stars came together in one place from somewhere. (Fourteenth) A *somkeless* fire that was like a collected brilliance of all the *brilliant objects* present in the womb of the three worlds. *These entered her mouth.*[21]

This represents the entire text of Hemachandra's on the fourteen great dreams of Ṛishabha's mother. It is the fullest descripion of dreams found in the *Trishashṭi* in connection with the Jinas and the Chakravartins. However, there is one change, common to all the sources known to deal with the dreams of

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Ṛishabha's life, that in this series the *bull,* and not the elephant, appears in the first of the dreams. All the mothers of the Jinas see the elephant first in their dreams, except for Ṛishabha's mother who first sees a bull, *ṛishabha* literally meaning bull, hence the child's name.[22] The serial dreams in the *Trishashṭi* always follow the same order as that found in Bhadrabāhu's *Kalpasūtra* and is evident from the dreams of Mahāvīra's birth, quoted above.[23]

It is, then, this series of dreams that the mothers of the greatest Jinist heroes see at the time of their conception. It is from among these fourteen[23a] that the mothers of minor heroes see seven or four out of these fourteen dreams. But there is no set order for these latter. For instance, the mother of a Vāsudeva sees the following seven dreams (regardless of the serial order)—lion (3), Padmā (another name for Śrī) seated on a lotus (4), a sun (7), a pitcher filled with clear water (9), an ocean (11), a heap of jewels (13), and a smokeless fire (14).[24] Similarly in the case of a Baladeva, the four dreams which his mother saw had no particular order except that they were four of the fourteen—an elephant (1), a bull (2), a moon (6), and a lotus-pool (10).[25]

Dream-typology and symbolism

It is common knowledge to dream-interpreters, as pointed out above, that "anxiety-dreams" and "wish-fulfillment dreams" are common to humanity just as dreaming as such is universal to mankind. Rather than discuss them, we will concentrate on dreams found in Hamachandra's *Trishashṭi.* We find four specific types of dreams which are called in dream litreature by the following names: (1) "prophetic dreams,"[25a] (2) "name-dreams," (3) "divine-dreams," and (4) "invented-dreams."

The fourteen great dreams mentioned throughout this chapter, (which will be discussed in the following section in detail), seen by the mothers of Jinas and Chakravartins, as well as the seven-dreams of Vāsudevas and those four of Baladevas, are examples of prophetic-dreams. But we will cite other examples of this type of dream that are found in Hemachandra's celebrated work. There are three such prophetic dreams, one dealing with Ṛishabha's arrival into a town; the second tells of two "flying ascetics" foretelling the going to heaven of one of the three disciples of a *guru*; while the third one prophesied a marriage. In the words of Hemachandra himself, they run as follows:

I. The Prophetic-dreams:

1. In the first of the three prophetic-dream examples, three people see three different dreams which come true:

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In this city prince Śreyāńsa, heir to King Somaprabha, saw in a dream: Meru [Mt.], entirely dark, was made extremely brilliant by sprinkling it with pitchers of water. The merchant Subuddhi saw a thousand-rays fallen from the sun; replaced in it by Śreyāńsa, then the sun too was very bright. King Somaprabha saw one man completely surrounded by many enemies gain the victory with the assistance of Śreyāńsa.

These three told each other their dreams in the assembly and, not knowing their interpretation, went back to their own houses. Just then, as if to make apparent the meaning of the dreams, the Master [Ṛishabha], entered the town of Hastināpura for alms.

Dreams foretold the arrival of the first Jina, Ṛishabha, to their city the next day.[26]

2. In the second dream a similar instance of prophetic-dream is presented:

Under guru Kshīrakadamba, his son Parvataka, Prince Vasu and I [Nārada]—the three of us—studied. One night when we were asleep on the top of the house from fatigue from study, two flying ascetics were talking to each other, as they went through the air. The guru heard, 'one of these will go to heaven, but the other two will go to hell.' Hearing this, the teacher was crushed and thought: 'oh ! oh ! with me as a teacher, two of my pupils will go to hell. Which one of these will go to heaven and which to hell ?

Wishing to know this, the teacher summoned the three of us at the same time. The guru gave each one of us a dough-cock and said, 'kill these where no one sees.' Vasu and Parvataka went to deserted places and destroyed the dough-cocks as well as a state of existence beneficial to themselves. I [Nārada] went to a very distant place outside the city, stopped in a spot without any people, looked in all directions, and thought: 'Though the order was given by the guru, 'son, you must kill this cock where no one sees,' he (the cock) sees, I see, the Khecharas see, the Lokapālas see, and the Jñānins [beings with three higher kinds of knowledge] see.' The cock certainly must not be killed, is the meaning of guru's speech. The revered guru, compassionate, always averse to injury, surely gave this command to test our intelligence !

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And so it was. Nārada was the one who will go to heaven, while the other two will go to hell for their deeds.[27]

3. In yet another dream, a marriage is prophesied which comes true, despite a number of obstacles:

Kesarā and Vasantadeva were childhood friends. When they grew up they used to meet and enjoy each other's company. One day Kesarā found him especially attractive so she offered a bunch of flowers in expression of her love for him. Asleep in the *last watch of the night*, Kesarā saw herself in a dream being married to Vasantadeva. At that time Vasantadeva also married her in a dream. Both were delighted and further expressed their love for each other by daily meetings and exchange of gifts. But Kesarā's parents, however, arranged her marriage to some one else. She, in order to avoid this marriage, tried to hang herself in the temple of the God of Love. There Vasanta had been taken by a friend who had saved him from a similar attempt. They had hidden in the temple noting Kesarā's attempt to hang herself, if not married to her lover. Vasanta appears from behind the statue and saves her. Surprised, the united lovers escape. Vasanta's friend disguises himself and returns to Kesarā's house as the girl. There he meets his own lost sweetheart and escapes too.[28]

This dream seen "in the last watch of the night," i. e., at dawn, and despite numerous difficulties, does not come true in the end.

II. The name-dreams :

The second type of dreams found in Hemachandra are the "name-dreams," i. e., the names given to people because of a dream-experience immediately before their birth, which led them to bear those particular names. We found four examples of this type of dream which we describe. One of the most celebrated example of the name-dream is provided by the name of the first Jina, Ṛishabha himself;

1. Since a bull was the mark on the thigh of the Lord of the world, and since a bull was seen first by his mother in her dream, the delighted parents named him Rishabha [literally meaning "bull"].[29]
2. The second instance of name-dream comes from an answer given by Jina Śānti to a questioner : "Because a moon was seen entering your mother's mouth in a dream, your parents gave you the name Kuruchandra ["moon of the Kurus"].[30]

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3. A third example of this types of dream is provided in the Jaina Rāmāyaṇa part of Hemachandra's book which states that : "Kaikasi bore another son, indicated by the dream of a sun, named Bhānu-karaṇa ["caused by the sun"].[31]
4. There is yet another name-dream case in the *Trishashṭi.* : Queen Hemamālinī bore a daughter named Padmā ["Lotus" in the feminine], indicated by the sight of a "lotus-tendril in a dream."[32]

These seem to be the only examples of name-dreams in the *Trishashṭi.*, but they are clear in their description of name-dreams cited above.

III. The Divine-dreams :

The third type of dreams found are what are called the divine or god-sent dreams, i. e., a god or a diety tells the dreamer something of importance in the dream. One of the most interesting cases of this type involves a princess separated by her husband for twelve years—she saw the following dream:

> In the last part of the night [i.e., towards dawn] the Vidarbhana princes [Vaidarbhī] saw a dream which she described to her father joyfully, just as it was: "I saw the goddess Nirvṛitti [the guardian of Śānti, the 16th Jina] today at dawn, while I was comfortably asleep. She [the goddess] showed me in the sky a garden of Kośalā [the Kingdom her husband had lost] which she had brought here. At her command I climbed a mango tree which had flowers and fruits. She put a blooming lotus in my hand. When I had climbed the tree, a bird, which had gone up before, fell to the ground at once.
>
> King Bhīma, her father, said: "Daughter, this is a very fine dream. Surely, the goddess Nirvṛitti is your heap of merit which has matured. The garden of Kośalā seen in the air confers lordship over Kośalā on you. According to the climbing of the mango, you will soon meet your husband. The bird that had climbed there first and fell—King Kūbara will doubtless fall from the throne. From seeing the dream at dawn Nala will meet you today. For a dream at this time bears fruit quickly.[33]

This dream not only provides a good example of the god-sent dream but also gives us some indication of dream-symbolism. The episode is based on the famous story of Nala and Damayantī from the great Hindu epic,

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Mahābhārata. Prince Nala looses his throne and in order to avoid hardships to his wife, he abandons her while sleeping (so that she may return to her father's home). Nala wanders around for years seeking a chance to regain his throne. It is much like the Pharoah's dream of seven fat kine and seven lean kine eating up the former, interpreted by Joseph. It is not based on any psychological theory, on the assumption that the dream was a message sent to men by divine powers.[34] We shall return to Kesarā's dream in our discussion of dream-symbolism.

IV. The invented-dreams :

This term is borrowed from MacKenzie's description of Roman imperial dreams for as he says : "the Romans were addicted to divination of all kinds." The emperor Augustus who succeeded Julius Caesar took dreams so seriously that he made a law that anyone who dreamed about the commonwealth must proclaim it in the market place. Caesar's wife, Calpurnia, according to Plutarch's testimony, was said to have dreamed of her husband's assassination the night before he was stabbed to death. Tiberius, Caligula, and Domitian in turn had their deaths pretold in dreams. But many of these imperial dreams are reminiscent of "official" the dreams in other cultures; some sound as though they were "invented by historians after the event, soothsaying being so widely accepted in Rome that its credit might seem undermined if an emperor's death or other important event had come and gone without such dream omens."[35]

We find an interesting example of such invented-dreams from a case involving two wives of Kṛishṇa, the legendary Hindu hero who also figures prominently in the Jinist lore.

1. One day Rukmiṇī saw herself in a dream in a palace on a white bull; and she woke up . and related her dream to Kṛishṇa who explained "You will have a son, the sole hero of the universe." A slave-girl of his other wife went and told it to her mistress Bhāmā. Bhāmā *made up a dream* and told Kṛishṇa, "Today I saw in a dream an elephant equal to Hastimalla." Though knowing by signs of her deciet, but not wanting to hurt her feelings, Kṛishṇa said, "You will surely have a fair son." By chance, then an embryo developed and enlarged in her womb but Rukmiṇī's womb remained the same size because of her superior embryo.[36]

Hemachandra's *Trishashṭi.* provides us with only the above types of dreams which we classify into four categories and types under names commonly

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used by dream-interpreters. It gives us some indication of Jaina interest and belief in different kinds of dreams as recorded in one of their main mythological work.

Dream-symbolism :

There is even richer material on dream-symbols in Hemachandra's *Trishashṭi.* than on dream-typology. But the dream-objects, symbols and their meaning is a complex issue and the same symbol may stand for a variety of meanings in differing contexts. Some symbols are interpreted in a general common sense manner, while others are given a twisted, if not, a completely fabricated meaning devised rather to impress than to enlighten the dreamer of the symbolism in his dreams. But this situation is not peculiar to the Jinist or Indian dream-world; it is rather general in the field of dream-interpretation.

The dream-symbolism, much like dream-pattern, is dependent on the uniqueness and complexity of each culture; and no one will doubt that Jaina culture is otherwise. The symbols may carry, in fact, they do carry altogether different meanings in varying cultures. They may appear quite non-sensical and absurd to another culture, but they do convey a definite sense and meaning to the people belonging to the culture of the dreamer. To further illustrate this point of similar or the same object having differing symbolism in varying cultures, we may cite the serpent symbolism in four ancient cultures :

To the Greeks, a snake signifies sickness and enmity : a powerful snake means a severe illness. To the Assyrians, to seize a snake means that the dreamer will receive protection from an angel. To the Egyptians, it is lucky to dream of a snake for it means that a dispute will be settled. While for the Jewish people, to see a snake means that the dreamer's livelihood is assured : if it bites him his livelihood will be doubled; however, if he kills it he will lose his livelihood.[87]

Thus, it is extremely important that the interpreter take a serious account of the cultural context of dream-symbolism. Works of Carl Jung and Erich Fromm have made noteworthy contributions in this direction and mark a definite progress in the interpretation of dream-symbolism after Freud. Norman MacKenzie's remarks in this connection are very pertinent when he says :

> Symbols, however, cannot be divorced from either their cultural or their personal context, even if they appear to have a more general meaning....Fire, for instance, represents warmth in any society....but

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for some living in the forest district menaced by forest fires, it means warmth of a dangerous kind, whereas for an Eskimo, it means life-giving warmth. A dream of eating pork would clearly have different implications for a Jew and a Gentile....Therefore no fixed symbols can be attached to symbols. They vary from culture to culture and situation to situation.[38]

1. Above, in the typology section as an instance of the divine-dreams we cited the dream of Princess Vaidarbhī which her father, King Bhīma, interpreted for her. It provides an interesting sample of dream-symbolism : After listening to the dream of his daughter, King Bhīma said :

> Daughter, this is a very fine dream. Surely, the goddess Nirvṛitti is your heap of merit which has matured. The garden of Kośalā seen in the air confers lordship over Kośalā on you. According to the climbing of the mango, you will soon meet you husband. The bird that had climbed there first and fell King Kūbara will doubtless fall from the throne. From seeing the dream at dawn, Nala [her husband], will meet you today. For a dream seen at this time [i. e., dawn] bears fruit quickly.[39]

The dreamer saw the dream after years of separation from her husband and loss of his throne to a rival. The Kośalā garden in the air, from the context of the dreamer, clearly stands for the Kingdom of Kośalā which her husband had lost. The symbolism of the bird climbing and then falling indicates the fall of the usurper to the throne, while her climbing the mango tree (which bears delicious fruit regularly every season) indicates her union with her long-lost husband. Simple message, couched in a symbolic language, means: she will meet her husband soon and he will regain his kingdom.

We quote from Hemachandra's *Trishashṭi* to provide more examples of Jinist symbolism, without comment, for they are sufficiently explanatory by themselves :

2. One day when Queen Dhanaśri was sleeping comfortably, she saw in a dream in the last part of the night "two fragrant, shining garlands on her own lap." When she told the dream, the king explained: you will certainly have "two faultless daughters." At the right time two comely daughters were born.[40]
3. Describing the birth of Rāvaṇa and his brothers (with Jaina Rāmāyaṇa part of *Trishashṭi*). Hemachandra writes that one day in a

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dream Kaikasī saw a "lion in the act of tearing an elephant's boss," enter her mouth. At dawn she related the dream and Ratnaśravas [her husband] interpreted it as: you will have a "son who will be powerful but arrogant" to all...She bore such a son... Kaikasī bore another "son" indicated by the dream of a "sun", named Bhānukaraṇa...After sometime had passed Kaikasī again bore a "son", named Bibhishaṇa, indicated by the dream of a "moon"... [41]

4. King Ratnadhvaja had two chief queens ornamented with good conduct. One of them was Kanakaśrī and the other was Hemamālinī. Kanakaśrī bore "two daughters," like intelligence and beauty, indicated by a dream of "two shoots of a Kalpa-tree [wishing tree] in her lap"...the parents gave them the names of Kanakalatā and Padmalatā. Hemamālinī bore a "daughter," delighting the family; named Padmā, indicated by the sight of a "lotus-tendril" in a dream.[42]

5. Queen Yaśamatī was at the head of all his [King Śānti's] female household. She saw in a dream a *chakra*, a disc, entering her mouth.... She arose from sleep and related her dream to Lord Śānti who explained: In another birth I had a younger brother Drdharatha. Now he has descended into your womb. At the right time you will give birth to a "son."[43]

6. One time Sahasrāyudha's wife, Jayanā, saw in a dream at night a "golden spear" with projecting rays. She related this to her husband at daybreak and he said; you will surely have a "son" of great power....at the right time she bore a Jewel of a son.[44]

7. The queen comfortably alseep, saw during the last part of the night fourteen great dreams and also a fifteenth, a "thunderbolt." When she awakened she related the dreams to her husband and he explained; you will have a "hero-son," a chakrin, like vajrin [Indra, the thunderbolt-wielder].[45]

It is evident from the above examples that "fragrant garlands on her own lap," "shoots of wishing-tree in her lap," as well as "a lotus-tendril" in the dreams are all symbols of faultless, comely daughters. Had there been a faded garland, a dry tree or thorny-bush, the daughters, it seems to be implied, should have been wicked and evil and unfortunate. On the other hand, the birth of a son is symbolized by a lion, a sun, a moon, a disc, and a spear. In

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Freudian terms, both disc and spear would have sexual symbolism-disc for a female and spear for male-organ but as in both cases boys are born, the disc symbolism does not stand for feminity in this context. Moreover, despite sexual connotation of round objects may have sexual reference to woman in other context, in the Indian cultural context. The disc is always associated with Kṛishṇa's weapon. Thus, perhaps only the spear "with projecting rays" might indicate male sexual symbolism. Moreover, the symbols of physical prowess and strength are indicated by the association of a lion "in the act of tearing an elephant's boss," "golden" qualifying the spear, and a "thunderbolt." This latter is a mark of a chakrin but borrowed from the Vedic hero Indra who often appears in the Jinist lore as Śakra. In our first example of dream-symbolism, we saw how "climbing and then fell" of the bird meant a rival's fall, and "climbing the mango-tree" implied the union with dreamer's spouse.

On the whole there appears to be a characteristic lack of objects with obvious sexual inflication in the dreams apart from that of the spear, which may not signify definite sexual symbolism in the Jinist cultural context. But even more conspicuous is the absence of the snake as an object in these dream accounts.

It is conceivable that in some instances the snake could stand for the male-organ in Hindu or even Jinist-myths, but we find no mention of it in the dreams described in Hemachandra's *Trishashṭi*. Sexual concerns are, however, not lacking in dreams. All the objects seen in the dream by a woman "enter her through her mouth." This betrays a stubborn attempt to "eliminate the male intruder" and imply, if not "virgin birth", some form of parthogenetic fantasy[46] Moreover, Monier William's commenting on sex symbolism in Indian religions explains it thus: "In India the relation between the sexes is regarded as a sacred mystery, and is never held to be suggestive of improper or indecent ideas".[47] This attempt can be easily understood for the great dreams indicate the birth of "the privileged few" which is believed to be superhuman. Havell's comments in this connection seem just as applicable to Jinism as they do to Hindu art. He said: "The ideas connected with sex symbolism in Hindu art and ritual are generally misrepresented by those who take them out of the environment of Indian social life. In the Upanishads sexual relationship is described as one of the means of apprehending the divine nature, and throughout oriental literature it is constantly used metaphorically to express the true relationship between the human soul and God."[48]

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Interpretation of the Great Dreams

In this section, we will attempt to interpret, the meaning and significance of the fourteen great dreams by an analysis of the symbols implied by the fourteen dream-objects. There is evidence to show that early Jainas were as interested in dream interpretation as they were in the dreams themselves. For what is a dream worth if it is not interpreted and its meaning made clear to the dreamer. The Jainas, like the ancient Hebrews, seem to believe that uninterpreted dreams were much like a letter unread.[48a]

Hemachandra refers to dream interpreters whenever a dream is mention-in his work. He seems to recognize in the manner of modern dream-analysts that dream-interpretation has immediate validity only for two persons—the dreamer and the dream-interpreter.[49] There are numerous examples in the *Trishashti.* when the dreamer tells the dream to his or her immediate relative (in most cases queens tell their husbands) who furnish the interpretation. When the dreamer himself is learned, e. g., the teacher in the "flying ascetics" dream, he interprets it himself and tests its validity by an experiment. We meet Kings, scholars, dream-experts, those skilled in the dream-science, astrologers, and Jinas as dream interpreters in this text. Most of the dreams represented in this book are those of the "privileged dreamers", i. e., of kings, queens, scholars, etc.... and this might be because the book deals with privileged people—the heroes—but it does not mean that there were no ordinary dreamers known to Hemachandra or Medieval Jinism. While some early Greeks seem to believe that dream-experience of only a high king was more trustworthy than that of an ordinary dreamer but we know of no such bias against the ordinary folk in Jinism.[50]

Before putting forth my own interpretation of the fourteen great dreams, it may be appropriate to cite an example of dream interpretation provided by Hemachandra. This will not only give us a more accurate knowledge of the method of interpretation, but will also familiarize us with some of the symbolism in the dreams which will help us interpret the fourteen dreams. Hemachandra records dream seen by Governor Puṇyapāla who reported it to the last Jina, Mahāvīra, on the very last day of his worldly existence, i.e., on the day of his *Kevala* (liberation) and interpreted by the Jina himself :

> After Mahāvīra had delivered his sermon, Governor Puṇyapāla bowed to the Lord and announced: "Master, today I saw eight dreams: an elephant, monkey, fig tree, crow, lion, lotus, seed, and pitcher in

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succession. Tell me the meaning of these. I am frightened, Blessed One."

1. Questioned, the Lord of the World explained their meaning: "Those who have discernment, having become equal to elephants, in the future will live as *greedy* laymen in a house pleasant with transitory wealth. They will not take initiation, if a bad condition or a hostile army is present: and even if initation has been taken, they will abandon it from bad association. Certainly a few will keep the vow even in evil association. This is the meaning of the elephant-dream.

2. The meaning of the monkey-dream is as follows: the main teachers, belonging to sects, for the most part equal to *monkeys*, with *uncertain mental processes* and *little strength of character*, will become *negligent* in the vow. The pious will deteriorate constantly, but very few will exert themselves in dharma. The ones who are not negligent and will give instruction to those lax in dharma, they will be ridiculed by them (the negligent) like city-people in a village by the villagers. In the future will be contempt for the scriptures. Know, King. This is the meaning of the monkey-dream.

3. Laymen, equal to a holy *fig tree* in a good field, liberal, worshippers of the doctrine, will be oppressed by deceitful false sādhus. The *great sages*, having the *character of lions*, will look like watch-dogs of those having contacts with worthless doctrine. The false sādhus will takeover the path of the touring-country of the well behaved sādhus, like a thorny bush (of little value that spreads rapidly). Such is the meaning of the holy fig tree.

4. For the most part munis of a bold nature, even though seeking dharma, *will not be satisfied* in the sects, like *crows* in ditch-water. Then they, *stupid*, will other sectarians, with sūris at the head devoted to *deceit*, like mirages. They will *constantly harass* the teachers among them, saying, "Going with them is not fitting." This is the meanning of the crow-dream.

5. The doctrine of the *Jinas*, equal to a *lion*, devoid of memory of former births, etc., in succession, will perish in this forest of Bharata devoid of, righteous people. Certainly animals of teachers of corrupt doctrine will not prevail; but the false sādhus, self-originated like

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worms, having impure knowledge. The false sādhus surely will not prevail by corrupt teachers like wild animals, but from former-power. That is the meaning of the lion-dream.

6. Righteous people will not be produced even in good families, like fragrant *lotuses* in multitudes of lotuses. Even though they have been devoted to dharma, they will *change from bad association*, like a white waterlily sprung up in a village dust heap. *Born in a bad country, in a bad family, even the righteous will be inferior.* So you should understand the meaning of the lotus-dream.

7. Just as one would sow for fruit in saline ground what are not seeds with the idea that they are seeds, so they will sow improper things, in a bad person with the idea that they are proper. Or rather, as a farmer by chance would unintentionally sow in the field, a seed mixed in what was not seed, so laymen, not knowing what is proper amidst improper things, will make a gift to a suitable person. That is the meaning of the *seed-dream.*

8. A few great sages, marked with the lotuses of the virtues, tolerance, etc., will be in a secluded place, like *pitchers* filled with the water of good conduct. But many false sādhus will be everywhere, with lax practices and conduct, like dirty pitchers. Jealous, they will quarrel with the sages and the people will be impartial to the two. The ascetics and false sādhus would be dealing with impartiality like a King not possessed by a demon, (but like one) possessed by a demon, with people possessed by a demon."

Mahāvīra then cites a story to explain the above dream....After hearing the meaning of his dreams, Noble Puṇyapāla, enlightened, took initiation and in the course of time attained emancipation.[5]

I have quoted the above dream in full in order to provide a sample of the most detailed dream interpretation found in the *Trishashṭi.* and the interpreter, according to its author, being none other than the historical person of Mahāvīra himself. In addition, the dream was discussed on the very last day of Mahāvīra's life on earth, hence it should be given a more serious attention owing to its "historical" reliability. Moreover, it provides some interesting points of comparison in our endeavour to interpret the fourteen major dreams for some of the objects of the latter also figure in the eight dreams interpreted

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by Mahāvīra. The objects common to both set of dreams are of course, the elephant, the lion, the lotus and the water-pitcher. The other four objects in the eight dream series may greatly affect the usual symbolism and signification of the objects found in common, for the order and corresponding effect of each single object will ultimately decide the outcome and significance of the dream as a whole.

It is not necessary, as we pointed out above, for dreamers to have actually seen these dreams, but the myth is that they were seen and the community believes that they were seen by their heroes. We will return to the above example, when we present an interpretation of each of the objects in the fourteen great dream series.

The Fourteen Great Dreams and Their Significance.

In the section on dream-contents above, we have fully quoted the description of these dreams both from Bhadrabāhu's *Kalpasūtra* and Hemachandra's *Trishashṭi*. It was also noticed earlier that in all the cases where the fourteen great dream series is reported the *order* and *objects* of the dreams are always the same—whether one reads Bhadrabāhu, or Hemachandra or Ratna Vijayaji each separated from the other by several centuries. Throughout the past two millennia Jaina scholars have uniformly maintained that only in the case of Ṛishabha, the first Jina, does the order of dreams alter : instead of the elephant, the bull is seen first by Ṛishabha's mother. This seems to have been purposely done in order to connect his name to that animal. Thus, we treat the dream objects in the order in which they figure in all cases, excepting, of course, for Ṛishabha.

1. *The elephant* : According to a well-established Jinist tradition the elephant is seen by the mothers of all the Jinas and the chakrins. In the Buddhist stories too, Buddha's mother also sees an elephant the night before she conceived him. What is the meaning and significance of the elephant in the realm of Jinist myth and reality ? Let us first examine the dream content to see if it provides some helpful pointers. Both Bhadrabāhu and Hemachandra emphasize the same qualities of a *huge, white* elephant *in full youth*, as does the entire Jaina tradition on the great dreams. The indigenous elephant was a popular royal-mount and used in important social and political ceremonies, e. g., coronation, wedding, etc...It formed one of the four wings of the traditional Indian army, served as an extremely useful beast of burden and there was a special branch of study devoted to elephants. In the stories of the

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Hindu god Kubera's Airāvata, his elephant of legendary fame, is common knowledge to all Indians as are those of Gaṇeśa, Śiva's elephant-headed portly son. Gaṇeśa also symbolizes social stability and what is common to both human and animal world.[52] An historical King, Udayana of Kauśāmbī, a well-attested contemporary of Mahāvīra and Buddha, is known to have had the greatest elephant-love of legendary fame as well as an extra-ordinary expertise concerning elephants. The animal was a popular object for artists and sculptors as found on Indus seals, in Sānchī monuments, of Aśokan pillars, the "emergent elephant" from Orissa and the "Descent of Ganges" at Mahābalipuram. Extremely expensive to maintain, an elephant, however, and only the very rich can afford it, or people living near forests where they can freely roam and feed themselves satisfactorily. The Jainas, like the Buddhists and the Hindus were alien Indo-Europeans who entered India in the wake of Indus' destruction, were new-comers and strangers to India, they were undoubtedly impressed with the size and abundance of the elephant and soon learned of its utility and gentility and began to exploit its talents. Elephants were particularly usefull to the rich and aristocratic rulers, the warriors, Kshatriyas, and served as a symbol of their status. It is to this warrior class that all the Jinist heroes belonged; not to the "lowly Brāhmans" as they would say. They would wish their offspring to be strong and powerful. What better symbol could they select but this huge and powerful animal ! For color-conscious Aryans, "White" was not only the colour of "purity," but also superiority. Thus, the dream of the elephant betrays the Kshatriyas orientation of the hero to be "big, strong and youthful and fair complexioned."

Even if Jinism, as opposed to Brāhmanism espouses a belief in the indigeneous tradition of Śrāmaṇism, Jinists were, along with the Brāhmanists and the Buddhists, ethnically an Aryan people (i. e. of foreign origin), although they upheld divergent religio-philosophical doctrines. Therefore, the Jinist choice of the elephant as a symbol of size and strength represents no difference from their fellow Aryans in India.

In the eight-dream series, the "greed" and "transitory wealth" of laymen seems to be compared with an elephant's large appetite and vanishing food resources. As the overall purport of the dream-sequence is negative, the negative aspect of an elephent's nature is emphasized. Many declining aristocracies have experienced the dilemma of maintaining their entourage for prestige purposes, including elephants, while being unable to afford them.[52a]

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2. *The bull* : It was a *tame, white*, and *lucky* bull with a large and beutiful hump, exceedingly strong and with golden-bells hanging around its neck. This animal is also indigeneous to India and of universal use agriculture throughout Indian history. Such bulls are depicted not only on the Indus seals, Asokan pillar, Sānchī *stūpa*, and in Ajaṅta cave paintings, etc...but are a common sight through much of India. There are statues of the bull as the ever present Nandī, in countless Śiva temples throughout South Asia. It symbolizes Śiva's generative force and the whole duty of a Hindu on spiritual plane.[53] It's progenitor, the cow, is highly venerated in both Jinist and Hindu traditions and in practice is called *gaumātā*, "mother cow." It is literally worshipped by the millions in India—neither to be killed nor to be eaten even by those who cosider it just like another animal. All that she produces, even urine and dung—is useful and sacred. Without cows there will be no milk, no butter, and no bulls. But it is not just a bull's agricultural utility that is understood; it is also its "virility" that is implied. To call a man a "bull" implies no insult at all; it is the finest comliment to his virility—despite the slightly different connotation in English. For Indian heroes in literature, especially Kshatriya heroes whose physical strenghth is to emphasized, the synonym "bull" is used and it implies great stamina, physical prowess, and endurance. The first Jina, Ṛishabha, is literally called so after the bull.

As Mahāvīra and other Jinist heroes are Kshatriyas, they are expected to be strong and powerful and in Indian history as a whole there was no better symbol for that than a bull. Besides, it has already been made a symbol of sanctity, tameness, tirelessness and devotion in the Śiva cult. The Jinists could not err in adopting it too. And given the conservative character of the Jainas, it is hard to expect otherwise. Despite a tremendous change in their social concerns, from the Kshatriya to Vaishya (mercantile), their value-system continued to extoll earlier Kshatriya values and aspirations. And despite the earlier anti-Brāhmanic revolt that lie in its genesis, Jinism, in course of time not only venerated the Brāhmaṇas, but came to imitate a number of its beliefs and practices. But in the realm of ideas and beliefs, the same anti-Brāhmanic legacy persisted, though they never ceased in patronizing the Brāhmaṇas for the performance of Jinist rituals.

3. *The lion* : Then she saw a *handsome, handsomely shaped*, red-eyed, lion with a waving mane, etc.... The lion is again indigeneous to India, is commonly known for its strength, courage and lordly bearing. It is the King of all animals and is the master of the forest. Again it is common in literature, art

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and sculpture, especially in royal palaces as well as in historic monuments (e.g. on Aśokan pillars, on the walls of the Sānchī *stūpa*, etc....). Moreover, it was the mount of the popular Hindu goddess Kālī. The Hindus also place a man-lion (Narasiṁha) among the ten incarnations of Vishṇu. As Jinism arose among Kshatriyas, lion qualities were greatly desired in their heroes and these qualities were in the entire Indian royal tradition. Lions are commonly carved out of stones, or moulded out of metals, painted on walls, etc...and their statues placed in front of Jinist temples (e.g. Jaina temple in Calcutta) much like the statues of the Nandī bull in Śiva-temples. Moreover, in animal stories, a lion is known to be a family-oriented animal. It provides for and protects its family and dependents and keeps peace not only within the forest but also in its own family. It is endowed with qualities of forgiveness, dignity and justice... unchallenged ruler of the wild kingdom .... hence worthy of emulation and as a symbol of courage and dignity.

4. *Śrī* : The goddess of wealth-seated on a lotus-lake . . . adorned with pitchers full of water lifted up by the . . . elephants of the [four] quarters, etc. This is a straight-borrowing from Hindu pantheon. All the elements mentioned here are also found in Hindu mythology.[54] However, wealth, softness and gentility (if not so much also the beauty of the lotus), clean water (for Jainas must strain their water to avoid injury to water-beings) and safety (the elephants are the mythical guardians of the four major directions—east, west, north, and south) became major concerns of the Jainas in Mahāvīra's times. They became increasingly an almost exclusively mercantile community. These concerns were also shared by other mercantile communities, e.g., the Vaishyas, but were not so much idealized (though perhaps equally desired) by other classes, i.e., Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and the Śūdra. Dīpāwalī, the festival of lights, is exclusively devoted to her worship by the Hindus, but the significance it has for the mercantile communities, whether Hindu or Jaina, is unmatched and unique.

5. *The garland* : or wreath made of many kinds of fresh, colourful and fragrant flowers. Fruits, flowers, and incense have always been essential elements in Indian worship. It is so among Hindus and Buddhists as well as the Jainas. Moreover, they always welcome an honoured guest with a garland and don it themselves on summer evenings or on special occasions. It is a thing of beauty, pleasure and is aesthetically as pleasing to humankind as it is to the bees. The wreath of flowers, much like the goddess of wealth, indicates symbolic prosperity, peace and enjoyment.

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6. *The moon* : White as cow-milk, bright and shining like a silver cup, etc. The moon brings light in the dark night, it is cool, white as milk and silver, and it is beautiful. It's appeal is worldwide. It's coming at regular times is a symbol of normal functioning of the universe. It provokes gentler feelings. It has inspired countless poets throughout history. It also frightens away thieves and robbers. It has a place of pride in the galaxies. Hence its appearance in the dream as bright and shining stands for good omen. As it is neither obscured nor "stained" it cannot bring misfortune or ill-luck. It figures as a deity in the *Ṛig Veda* and adorns Śiva's forehead. The Jainas adopted it too.

7. *The sun* : Large, radiant, flooding the world with light, etc. Perhaps, the earliest object of human wonder, worship and veneration....the giver of light, heat....without the sun there will be no life, no regeneration. Essential for human life; moon appears as a luxury as compared to the necessity of the sun for human existence. Man could ignore it at the cost of his own peril. No wonder the Jinist dreams also found it in their great dreams. Sun is regular, dependable, completely open and it is powerful to boast. These qualities are desirable in all heroes, let alone Jaina heroes. Moreover, sun has been a deity of great significance in the *Ṛig Veda* and his worship continued to be practised in later times in India as well as SE Asia. The Jainas were not taking any risk in adopting it.

8. *The flag* : An extremely *large* and *beautifully* fluttering flag etc....Flags are a common feature of Indian temples, be they Hindu, Buddhist or Jaina they are generally triangular in shape and usually of either ochre, red, white or yellow color. The appearance of a flag in the dream might indicate the existence of temples as well as a faithful and prosperous community carrying on its religious rituals and ceremonies without any obstruction. Armies also had flags with insignias and the armies were a Kshatriya institution. The large fluttering flag might indicate a strong and well-organized army ready to battle. Jinism initially being a Kshatriya religion might betray its Kshatriya orientation by adopting a flag in the dream.

9. *The pitcher* : a *golden* pitcher filled with *pure water*, its mouth covered with full-bloom *lotuses*. The pitcher, wheel-turned and made of clay, is the commonest drinking water container in Indian homes. They are normally exchanged for new ones every year on a particular festival. Most homes also have metal pitchers which are an essential part of a girl's dowry at weddings. Smaller pitchers of metal are used in worship. The metal used is normally copper (considered pure) and silver and gold (the latter thought to be sacred)

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may also be found in rich homes. They are also associated with gods and goddesses and temples. *Golden pure*, and *lotus*—all indicate a desire for the good things of life. What is also noteworthy is the fact that the pitcher is "full with pure water." The Jainas are particularly concerned with purity. Even taps in city homes are covered with cloth in order to strain the water before it is used to avoid hurting water-beings. The monks are most careful in their use of water. They are not supposed to rinse their teeth with water for by such a violent use of water, nor are they to swim across waters (rivers, streams) with vigorous strokes, even at the risk of drowning, for they might hurt water-creatures. Moreover, like the sun with its light and heat, pure water is essential to human life. Attention to its purity reveals close observation of natural life. Water is a "fertility element" as well as a "creative element,"[55] thus its appearance in the dream is suitable for its unique utility.

10. *The lotus-lake* : filled with lotuses opening in the rays of the morning sun, etc. It is one of those beautiful gifts of nature that make landscape look so enchanting. Desire for plenty of water, in lakes, ponds, and rivers, enough for plants, crops, animals and human beings. When there is drought, life becomes intolerable for all concerned. If lakes are full of water and lotuses or waterlilies are in full-bloom, it shows that water needs are fully met. In a country where much of summer months depend on the vagaries of nature to wish for lakes full of water and blooming lilies is a symbol of survival as well as a pleasant nature and a thriving life. Its appearance in the dream indicates Jaina concern for an essential element of existence, water, and their aesthetic appreciation of its beauty.

11. *The milk-ocean* : white like the the mass of moon beams, pleasing the mind with masses of high waves, etc. Apart from pure water in the lakes, ponds and rivers, the Jinist myths (like Hindu myths) also speak of milk-oceans, nectar-oceans, etc....Ocean is the residence of Vshiṇu and his wife Śrī (described above). There is also the Purāṇic myth of the "churning of the ocean" by the gods. In the Jinist cosmos there are milk oceans too....Its appearance in the dream may imply a wish on the part of the Jainas to enjoy a continued existence of the Jinist cosmos.

12. *The heavenly-palace* : The best of its kind; "as if that palace in which the Blessed One had lived as a god had come here from former affection" for the Lord. In order to attain *Kevala*, liberation, in Jinism, the heroes are born in one of the heavens just preceding their last earthly life. In the Śrāmanic tradition liberation is conceived for gods and goddesses from that status. All

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creatures, the divine or animal, must be born as humans and go through life as youths, marry, have children, etc...in order to rid themselves of their remaining "pleasure-Karma." The appearance of the celestial abode in the dream verifies the fact of their descent from heaven to the earth in a Kshatriya family. The Hindu ideas of heaven and divinities seem to have influenced Jinism (and Buddhism) in their formulation of these ideas. However, they assign a lower position to these divine figures as well as to their abodes than they enjoy in Hinduism. Both major Śrāmanic systems—of Jinism and Buddhism—have a well defined hierarchy of numerous divinities and heavens which are markedly different from that of the Brahmanical and Hindu schemes even though the divinities, their names and functions and symbols remain the same. Even such revolutionary intellectual figures as Mahāvīra and Buddha seemed unable to shake off the well-established pantheon. This acceptance of basic Brahmanical and Hindu symbols, with some alteration of meaning was probably a necessary condition for their own survival and continuation in an alien environment. The Jainas became more and more specialized as traders, merchants and money-lenders, they made huge profits, some of which undoubtedly went into the construction of imposing mansions in growing urban centres. The heavenly-palace of the dreams seems to have become almost an inspiring symbol for more work, saving and investment. The part of this enriched existence was to live in large, almost palatial, buildings.

13. *The heap of Jewels*: a great mass radiantly filling the firmament with light, etc. At the time when Mahāvīra was born (in the 6th century B.C.) money economy was just coming into use. Wealth was measured by the quantity of land, jewels, silver, gold, etc., one possessed. The sight of a heap of jewels unmistakably symbolizes a large amount of wealth. Though some punch-marked coins have been discovered from that period, it is generally accepted that coinage came into vogue only a few centuries later. It is likely to think by the time these dreams and myths were put into final form, the value of jewels had even increased for non-landed property as moneyed economy had become ever more common and important. The Jainas were almost exclusively a mercantile community by the 12th century A.D. when Hemachandra wrote. Ownership of palatial buildings filled with wealth was the common ideal and ambition of most Jainas. Thus, the heap of jewels, like the heavenly palace may be seen as a symbol of the success and prosperity which the community was striving for. The Jinas were born in comparatively rich aristocratic families. Their association with wealth would seem a natural point of emphasis by later writers, Even in the days of Mahāvīra there were merchants with

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heaps of gold and silver "coins" who had them stored in sacks and carried on the bullock-drawn carts. For a wealthy community to seek and find more wealth was natural as for a successful conqueror to plan and achieve more conquests. The heap of jewels in the dream symbolizes the great wealth of the Jaina community in later times as well as indicate, perhaps, with some obvious exaggeration the wealth of Mahāvīra's family which he was later to renounce in preference for a spiritual career.

14. *The smokeless fire* : brilliantly shining, vehement in motion, etc... Fire, like the sun and water are essential for human life. It connotes "the fire of passions" which Mahāvīra strove to quench with "the fire of asceticism." Fire, in this instance seems to symbolize the rigorous asceticism which burns out all passions and emotional impurities just as the fire brings out the pure character of gold. Fire, Agni, was an important Vedic god and fire-sacrifices were an essential part of Vedic life When the Aryans moved east across northern India they sanctified the new lands by the performance of fire sacrifices as clearly depicted in the *Brāhmaṇa* texts. In Hinduism "fire was Śiva's element, at once destructive, purifying and regenerative"[56]. But the Śramaṇas, the ascetics, par excellence, have always emphasized "asceticism", as opposed to Brahmanic fire sacrifices and rituals and the Jainas were perhaps the most rigorous and uncompromising practitioners of asceticism of all Śramaṇas. They experienced the intensity of heat and fire on their bodies and unlike their less adventurous rivals—the Buddhists, they were more willing to use the rigorous ascetic fire to burn out the internal impurities in order to attain the final liberation, *Kevala*.

These, then, appear to be the meaning and symbolism of these fourteen great dreams to me as an historian. A student of Psychology and Aesthetics might notice something quite different in them. But every interpreter, no matter what his discipline will soon notice the cultural context of these dreams as well as the fact that the Jainas share with other religious schools the very same attributes and symbolism of these objects. In other words, these dreams may not betray so much an exclusively Jinist temperament and value orientation as an all India orientation and manifestation.

Implications and Conclusions

One of the main points to notice in this dream-series is the fact that most dream-objects are common worldly objects and devoid of the fabulous and fantastic elements which are so general in world mythologies. Most objects

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seen in the dream are those that are common and general to human experience. Even those few objects which are supra-natural, i.e., the goddess of wealth, Śrī, milk ocean and the heavenly palace, were common objects of belief in the masses when these dreams were first mentioned. Thus, the utter lack of the fantastic and emphasis on realistic objects of common knowledge indicates the reasonableness and modesty of claims in the Jinist dream-world.

The second point of importance noticeable from the dreams seems to be the fact that large numbers of these dreams include objects and personages made important and sacred in the Brahmanical and Hindu religious system. Elephant, bull, Śrī, moon, sun, ocean, lion, palace, flag, pitcher, wreath and fire—twelve out of fourteen dream-objects—have some religious significance in Hinduism. Buddhism singled out the elephant in the dream of Buddha's mother as well. It also includes the lion for some attention, and may chiefly indicate the common Kshatriya heritage of the two systems. What remains particularly new in the Jinist list is the lotus-pond and the heap of Jewels. Yet the selection and combination of all the fourteen objects lend them a particularly Jinist flavour.

What strikes one as strange is the *horse* commonly associated with the Aryans, and especially the Kshatriyas, is absent from the list. It was this royal animal that was selected for particular honour by ancient Indian kings in their processes of empire-building. It was and continues to be more commonly used by the Indians than the elephant. Of foreign origin, the horse is still scarce in India. Though it has always enjoyed a close relationship with the rulers and aristocrats, it is strange that no horse was included in the dream list when there were more horses in Mahāvīra's stables than elephants or bulls.

It may indicate a deliberate choice on the part of the Jainas. For Jinism for all intense and purposes not only remained confined to India throughout but was also of purely indigenous origin—India was *the* homeland of Jinism and the Jainas—where elephants, bulls, lions, etc. abounded[56a] but not the Aryan mount par excellence, the horse. Hence, the alien origin of the horse dictated against its selection in the dreams as opposed to animals of native origin and associated with already existing religious traditon. The Jaina rejection of the horse might also indicate a greater antiquity for Jinism in India quite apart from a pride in indigeneous animals. Scholars now generally acknowledge the greater antiquity of Jinism over Buddhism. This point may be further strengthened from the fact that Buddhist tradition does give a special place to the horse in relation to Buddha who used this animal to escape when he left his home and renounced worldly ties.

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A third point of importance appears to me to be a singular lack of specific sexual symbols in these dreams. There is, for example, no mention of an equally common element in Indian life, the *snake*. The snake was not only associated with Hindu gods Śiva and Vishṇu, but also with the Buddha and the Jinist hero Pārśva, the immediate predecessor of Mahāvīra. Like the bull and the elephant, the snake was also noticed in Indus civilization It is somewhat strange that the Jaina writers ignored it. The great Indian epic, *Mahābhārata*, records a large scale snake-burning sacrifice, while Nāgas, a people also associated with snakes, have not only continued to exist in India to this day, but were a common subject of discussion in early literature. We cannot quite make out the implication of snake's absence from the Jinist dream lists.

The fourth significant point is that although Jinism attaches the greatest significance to asceticism and *ahiṁsā* (non-injury or non-violence) we fail to notice anything special in this regard, except for the smokeless fire which would indicate the Jinist ideal in that connection. Most of the object-figures in the dreams have precedents in the Hindu religious contexts, while some betray a particularly Kshatriya orientation. A few show the wealth orientation of a mercantile community. Yet they fail to justify an interpretation of these dreams which states that the dreamer's child will be either a universal monarch or founder of a universal religious system. In order to attain *Kevala*, the ultimate goal of Jinism, a lay person had to renounce not only his home and family but almost every single object (that could be possessed) mentioned in the dream. After renunciation he could not ride an elephant, a bull-cart, use wreath, pitcher, enjoy a pond, ocean, palace, carry a flag, touch jewels and make his own fire. How does the cluster of ten indicate that he will be a great renouncer and founder of a universal system ? What the list seems to indicate is that he would or could be a king, even a universal monarch, for most of the things mentioned in the dream could be gainfully utilized in attaining his ambition and in maintaining his power.

It seems that the initial ambition behind the great dream-series was the attainment of political power through a monarchical system, However, as Mahāvīra was a scion of a republican system and represented, at best, a very minor power even in the limited context of N-E Indian political scene,[57] this was an impossible dream. Yet the greatest symbol of success in early India appears to be a king or a monarch. Even greater teachers like the Buddha and Mahāvīra, who because of the sheer historical reality, as they were both citizens of republican states which were of little political significance themselves and moreover, were under the shadows of ruthless and ambitious kings, could never

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become kings. But the faithful followers had to concoct stories of their royal births and stupendous wealth in order to impress the people of their great importance. As if, unless it was said about them that they were "royal princes destined to be great kings," no one will pay attention to them. And as overall orientation and evaluation of success was provided only by a royal model; it became incumbent upon writers to "interject" a new interpretation on the dream-series without worrying about the actual dream-objects and their (Kshatriya) royal orientation and worldly success orientation. It seems to have been the implication of the dreams that believers would mainly notice the royal connection of their great heroes and admire their renunciation without waiting to scrutinize the meaning and symbolism of the dreams. And this seems to have been the case if one looks at the general acceptance of this dream myth by scholars and almost a singular failure to explore the meaning which these objects would have for one who had renounced worldly life and devoted himself to spiritual goals with a view to seek an end to the circle of death and birth and acquire the isolated perfection of *Kevala*. Our investigation and examination of the dreams and dream-symbolism fails to provide any basis for justification that these dreams foretold the birth of a universal religious founder. What they do seem to portray is a prophesy of royal birth. And because of the purely historical circumstances the last and historical Jina, at any rate (like the Buddha himself) could not become a king, he became an ascetic and reorganized a universal religion that has apparently existed before his time.

The fifth inference that we can draw from these so-called dreams is that they were not actually dreams as such as they first appeared two centuries after Mahāvīra's death; they are more accurately a myth concerning dreams. Therefore, they are to be taken more appropriately to be "the dream-thinking of the people" after Carl Jung.[58]

We tried to explain the "manifest-dreams" and "latent thoughts" behind them.[59] But Freud also adds that "in the manifest content of dreams we very often find pictures and situations recalling familiar themes in fairy tales, legends and myths. The interpretation of such dreams thus throws a light on the original interests which created these themes"... He further adds "Often light is thrown by the interpretation of dreams on mythological themes in particular."[60]

As we noticed above in the light of what Freud says, we found that "the original interests which created these themes" were indeed compelling in case of the Jinist dreams and these dream-objects can be better understood if treated

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as "mythical themes." These Jinist dreams appear more closer to what Jung calls "the collective unconscious" of the people. Thus, their interpretation in order to be meanigful, should take into account their particular cultural contexts. It was with a similar approach that Dodds was able to reveal much about the relationship of Greek culture-pattern to Greek dream-pattern.[61]

In the Indian context of dreams, the Brahmanical commentaries on the *Vedas* recognized dreaming as an intermediate state between waking and sleeping. The "Questions of King Millinda" of the Buddhists envisaged the impact of temperament on the nature of dreams. It describes six kinds of dream but considers only "prognostication-dreams" to be true[62]

Indians for the most part would not have appreciated Aristotle's attitude towards dreams who maintained that: if the gods wished to communicate knowledge to men, they would do so in the daytime, and would choose the recipients more carefully....for him dreams could be only demonic for nature was demonic[63]. But they would find Socratic ideas on dreams more acceptable for according to Socrates dreams represent the voice of our conscience and it is of utmost importance to take this voice seriously and to follow it. It was owing to a dream that Socrates began to compose music in the last hours of his life[46]. Even an Indian villager would agree with Socrates.

Dreams as well as myths do fulfill a very definite need in human life—be they primitive or civilized. According to Rabbi Chisda: "Each dream has meaning except one which is stimulated by fasting....the dream which is not interpreted is like a letter which is not read".[65] In some communities dreams are taken to be as true as life. For Example, among the Ashantis in Ghana and Kai peoples of New Guinea, a dream of adultery involves the same penalty as actual adultery. Among the American Cherokee Indians a man who dreams of being bitten by a snake is treated as if he had been actually bitten.[66] Even some great European intellectuals in not so distant past derived a great deal of joy and fulfilment in dreams. For Goethe is reported to have said in conversations with Eckermann that:

"Human nature possesses wonderful powers, and has something good in readiness for us when we least hope for it. There have been times in my life when I have fallen asleep in tears; but in my dreams the most charming forms have come to console and to cheer me, and I have risen the next morning fresh and joyful." Goethe refers to dreams as "these whimsical pictures" and adds that "in as much as they originate in us, (they) may well have an analogy with our whole life and fate".[67]

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The above discussion would show that dreams or myths about dreams are not to be treated lightly and that the dreams are determined by particular culture contexts and culture-patterns. As Wallace observed in his noted study of Iroquois dreams:

> "The culture of dreams may be regarded as a useful escape-valve in Iroquois life. In their daily affairs, Iroquois men were brave, active, self-reliant, and autonomous; they cringed to no one and begged for nothing. But no man can balance forever on such a pinnacle of masculinity, where asking and being given are unknown. Iroquois men dreamt; and, without shame, they received the fruits of their dreams and their souls were satisfied."[68]

In our discussion of Jinist dreams we have noticed a particular emphasis on realistic objects and avoidance of the fantastic. We also noticed that despite a complete involvement of the community in business affairs and urban living, they cherish the Kshatriya orientation in their dreams and preserve that historical fact that their religion was based on Kshatriya teachers. The Jaina sources provide a considerable amount of information on dreams and dream-myths. We have attempted, however inadequately, to explain and understand the variety and symbolism in Jinist dreams as well as cited some examples of dream interpretations. It is not for us to say as to how true or false or even profitable this venture has been. But one thing is clear that a careful collection and analysis of Jinist dream material will throw a considerable light on Jinist psychology and will greatly enhance our understanding of Jinism and Jinist mythology. For dreams as well as myths have their own symbolisms which need to be investigated and interpreted in various ways in order to arrive at a thorough understanding of the workings of a given system.

Jung and Kerenyi noticed a certain definite "structure" of the dreams and found it "not unlike that of a drama." For example the dream begins with a statement of a place such as "I was in a street" etc. Next comes the statement about the protagonists, e.g., "I was walking with my friend," etc. But the statement of time are rarer. They find different phases in dreams . . . the scene of action . . . development of the plot . . . culmination . . . and finally solution, and conclude that : "this division into four phases can be applied without much difficulty to the majority of dreams met with in practice—an indication that dreams generally have a "dramatic structure".[69] Jinist dreams fit well the "form of the dream" as understood by Jung and shown in his "dramatic structure" of the dreams. It provides us with yet another compelling

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reason to pay more attention to Jinist dreams which has received no serious scholarly attention so far. The "truth" of dreams, as well as that of art or myth has significance far beyond historians' appreciation of them. In this age of multidisciplinary studies as well as wider public interest in realms viewed skeptically until quite recently, an historian will be deprived of understanding important historical personages and intellectual upheaval, were he not aware of diversity of approaches being taken for a richer insight into the past. We entirely agree with David Bidney when he says that myths (as well as dreams) perform a "perennial function" in human society.

> "The 'truth' of myth is a function of its pragmatic and dramatic effectiveness in moving men to act in accordance with typical, emotionally charged ideals. The effectiveness of myth depends in large measure upon ignorance and unconsciousness of its actual motivation. This is why myth tends to recede before the advance of reason and self-conscious reflection. But myth has a perennial function to perform in providing a basis for social faith and action. Our myths are rooted in the collective unconscious, and we are most in their power when we are unconscious of their origin."[70]

The Jinist dreams, likewise, provide the believers with "typical, emotionally charged ideals" and their dreams and myths have a "perennial function to perform in providing a basis for social faith and action." It is, perhaps, owing to this fact that no one investigated the hidden meaning and symbolism of these dreams and dream-myths that they have come down to our own times and they continue to provide some solace and inspiration to their collective unconscious !

References

1. Jung, C.G., and C. Kerenyi, *Essays on a Science of Mythology : The Myth of the Divine Child and the Mysteries of Eleusis* translated by R.F.C. Hull, Princeton, 1969, p. 67.

1a. And he defines the "Individuation process" as an "unconscious process spontaneously expressing itself in the symbolism of a long dream-series" Jung and Kerenyi, *ibid.*, pp. 75-76.

2. Mac Kenzie, Norman, *Dreams and Dreaming*, New York, 1965, p. 8.

3. Dodds, E.R., *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkley, 1966, pp. 103-4.

3a. We have, for the purposes of our interpretation, used the complete and authoritative translation of this work by Helen M. Johnson, published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series in 6 volumes by the Oriental Institute, Baroda, during 1931-62. We are immensely grateful to the current Director of the Institute and General Editor of the series, Dr. B. J. Sandesara, to allow us the use of their publication. Whenever we refer to Hemachandra in this chapter, we refer to this particular work and abbreviate it throughout as *Trishashti*.

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4. Cf Jacobi, Herman, *Jain Sutras*, London, 1884, Part I (Reprint 1968) : *The Ācharāṅga Sūtra* and the *Kalpa Sūtra*, pp. 230-38; Stevenson, Margret, *The Heart of Jainism*, Oxford, 1915, (Munshiram Manoharlal, Reprint, New Delhi, 1970), pp. 22-25; Chand, Bool, *Lord Mahavira* : *A study in Historical Perspective*, Banaras, 1948, p. 20; Vijayaji, Muni Ratnaprabha, *Shravaṇa Bhagwāna Mahāvīra*, vol. II, pt. 1, Ahmedabad, pp. 4-165; Jain, K.C., *Lord Mahāvīra and His Times*, Delhi, 1974, pp. 33-34.
5. Cf. *Trishashṭi*, I, pp. 347-52.
6. Chand, *op. cit*, pp. 14-27.
7. Cf. Jacobi, H., *The Uttarādhayana Sūtra* and the *Sūtra Kritāṅga Sutra*, 1895 (Dover Reprint 1968), pp. XLI-LIII, Winternitz, Maurice, *A History of Indian Literature*, trans. by S. Ketkar and H. Kohn, vol. II, Calcutta, 1933, pp. 462-64.
8. Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
9. Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
10. Jacobi, 1884, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-92; Chand, 1948, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.
11. Stevenson, Margaret, *The Heart of Jainism*, Oxford, 1915 (Munshiram Manoharlal, Reprint, New Delhi, 1970), p. 26; Jain, *op. cit.*, 1974, pp. 32-33.
12. Jacobi, 1884, *op. cit.*, p. xxxi n 2.
13. *Loc. cit.*
14. Chand, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-23; Jain, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33; for an orthodox view see Vijayaji, *op. cit.*, pt. I, pp. 4-165.
15. Macdonell, A.A. and Keith, A.B., *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, 1958 Vol. II, London, p. 493.
16. Thomas, E. J., *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History*, 3rd ed; New York, 1960, p. 36; also see Slater, P.E., *The Glory of Hera* : *Greek Mythology and Greek Family*, Boston, 1968, p. 111.

16a. In a Chinese painting of the tenth century the dream predicting the birth of the Buddha, Queen Māyā, his mother, saw "a child riding a sacred white elephant" (see illustration in Mac Kenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 59), instead of the elephant itself entering her side.

16b. These are highly condensed versions and much textual descriptions of the objects seen in the dreams are omitted.

17. Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.
18. Jacobi, 1884, *op. cit.*, pp 230-38.
19. Sharma, J.P., "Hemachandra." : The Life and Scholarship of a Jain Monk," *Asian Profile* (Hong Kong), vol. III, No. 2, 1975, pp. 195-215.
20. *Trishashṭi*, vol. VI, p. 27.
21. *Ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 100-1.
22. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, p. 22 n 3; Jacobi, 1884, *op. cit.*, p. 281.
23. Cf. *Trishashṭi*. vol. II, pp. 29-30, 233-34, 258; vol. III, pp. 3-4, 300-1; vol. IV, p. 3; vol. V, pp. 164 etc.

23a. However, in Hemachandra's Śvetambara (who normally speak of fourteen great dreams), work, I found one instance of a chakravartin (in fact, Jina Śānti in a former birth) whose mother "also saw a fifteenth (dream) a thunderbolt", which her husband interpreted that *her son will be a chakrin*, like Vajrin (Indra)—*Trishashṭi.*, vol. III, p. 260. Apart from the incorporation of Vedic god Indra so common in Jinist literature, it merely seems to demonstrate poetic cleverness in composition.

24. Cf., *ibid*, vol. III, p. 232.
25. Cf. *ibid*, vol. III, p. 231; vol. IV, p. 193.

25a. Some writers call this type of dream as "apparition-dreams", or "visitation-dreams." In both cases the future events are prophesied in a symbolic language which need

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to be interpreted by dream experts. In the dream of the flying ascetics not only the future events are prophesied but the dreamer undertakes an experiment to decide as to which of his three disciples will go to heaven—cf. Dodds, *op. cit*, p. 434; Oswalt, W.H., *This Land was Theirs : A study of the North American Indian*, New York, 1966, p. 434.

26. *Ibid*, vol. I, p. 177.
27. *Ibid*, vol. IV, pp. 143-4.
28. *Ibid*, vol. III, pp. 326-34.
29. *Ibid*, vol. I, p. 132.
30. *Ibid*, vol. III, pp. 325-26.
31. *Ibid*, vol. IV, p. 117.
32. *Ibid*, vol. III, p. 206.
33. *Ibid*, vol. V, p. 144.
34. Cf. Fromm, E., *Psychoanalysis and Religion*, (New Haven, 1950), pp. 111-13.
35. Mac Kenzie, *op. cit*, p. 50.
36. Cf. *Trishashṭi*, Vol. V, pp. 187-88.
37. Mac Kenzie, *op. cit*, p. 48.
38. *Ibid*, p. 25.
39. *Trishashṭi*, Vol. V, p. 144.
40. *Ibid*, III, pp. 255-56.
41. *Ibid*, IV, pp. 116-17; also see V, p. 31.
42. *Ibid*, III, p. 206.
43. *Ibid*, III, pp. 306-7.
44. *Ibid*, III, p. 270.
45. *Ibid*, III, p. 260.
46. Cf. Slater, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
47. as quoted in Havell, E.B , *The Art Heritage of India*, Revised Edition, with notes by Pramod Chandra, Bombay 1964, p. 158.
48. Havell, *loc. cit*, p. 158; also see Eliade, M., *Yoga : Immortality and Freedom*, 2nd ed. Princeton, 1969, pp. 254-73.
48a. Rabbi Chisda expresses the Talmudic dream theory well when he says that all dreams, except for those stimulated by fasting, have meanings and that "the dreams in order to be meaningful need to be interpreted" cf. Fromm, *op. cit*, p. 127.
49. Jung and Kerenyi, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
50. Cf. Dodds, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, 125, n. 35; also see Du Bois, C., *The People of Alor*, 2 vols, New York, 1861 for medicine man as dreamer in a tribal society.
51. *Trishashṭi*, vol. VI, pp. 336-39.
52. Cf. Havell, *op. cit.*, p. 157.
52a. This situation seems to have given rise to a common Indian proverb : A white elephant on our chest meaning a burden difficult to bear.
53. Havell, *op. cit.*, p. 153.
54. Cf. Basham, A.L., *The Wonder that was India* (1959), p. 316.
55. Havell, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
56. *Ibid*, p. 153.
56a. It may, however, not be construed as indicative of Jinist or Indian love of hunting for hunting in pre-Muslim India was never such a favourite theme of Indians and Indian artists as it was in Assyria and ancient Persia. "Animals are either the objects of worship themselves or they join with men, as their fellow-creatures, in worshipping at the sacred shrine the source of all life"—Havell, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
57. Cf. J.P. Sharma, *op. cit.*, "the Republic of the Nayas," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London), Pts. 3-4, 1968, pp. 144-50; *Republics in Ancient India* 1500-500 B.C. (Leidan, 1968).
58. Cf. Dodds, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
59. Cf. Strachey, 1965, p. 17.
60. in Strachey, 1965, p. 25.
61. Cf. Dodds, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-34.
62. Cf. Fromm, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-15.
63. Cf. Dodds, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
64. Cf. Fromm, *op. cit*, pp. 116-20.
65. in Fromm, *op. cit.*, p. 127.
66. cf. Mac Kenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
67. cf. Fromm, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-41.
68. Wallace, A.F.C., "Dreams and the wishes of the soul." : A type of psychoanalytic theory among the seventeenth century Iroquois in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 60 (1958), p. 247; also see Oswalt, *op. cit.*, pp. 434-35.
69. cf. Jung and Kerenyi, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.
70. quoted in Sabeok, T.A. ed., *Myth : A symposium*, Bloomington, 1965, pp. 20-21.

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SOME
NEW INSCRIPTIONS OF THE LICHCHHAVIS OF NEPAL

T. P. VERMA

With the publication of R. Gnoli's monograph[1] on the Lichchhavi inscriptions of Nepal in 1956 the attention of the scholars of the world was drawn to the history of the early period of this country. Before this Pt. Bhagwan Lal Indraji,[2] Cecil Bendall[3] and Sylvain Levi[4] had published some inscriptions of this dynasty. Some Nepalese scholars are also working in this field but their work does not appear to have been recognised because they could no get proper publicity. Also some times they are not properly acknowledged. Very recently two Nepali scholars have published which can be called corpuses of the Lichchhavi inscriptions of Nepal. Sri Hari Ram Joshi published his work '*Nepāla Ko Prāchīna Abhilekha*' in V. S. 2030 (1973) containing 175 inscriptions. It has some commentaries in Nepali. The other one is '*Lichchhavi Kāla kā Abhilekha*' by Dhanavajra Vajracharya published in the same year containing Nepali translation and commentaries. This work contains 190 inscriptions. Both of these scholars have freely utilised the material published in periodicals like *Pūrṇima, Abhilekha Sangraha* and *Samskṛita Sandeśa* etc.; though they themselves are responsible for the discovery and publication of most of these inscriptions. Considering the speed with which these discoveries are coming out one can not fail to appreciate their enthusiasm. As it appears from the above description Mr. Joshi added 86 and Vajracharya 101 new inscriptions to the list of R. Gnoli. They have also, as they claim, improved upon some of the readings of Gnoli at places.

I

Among these new inscriptions I wish to discuss here only two which appear to be the most important discoveries for the history of the Lichchhavis of Nepal. The first one is the Vishṇupādukā Inscription of Śivadeva I of (Śaka) year 512 (A.D. 590) and the other is the Chitalāṅa Inscription of Udayadeva dated *samvat* 45 (A.D. 621).

The Vishṇupādukā Inscription of Śivadeva runs like this:

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TEXT[5]

1. ... .
2. .... Lākulāṅga ...
3. ....mmījanitakara
4. ....rlā-bjāvilāsairalasamṛidugatirvvāsudevaḥ sa pātu [॥1॥]
5. ...vidyātmarūpambhavabhayaśamanaṅkoṭi Saṁsa[6]rggamādya[7](m)
6. (sa) rvvākāraṁ dṛiḍhantampunaraṇumanagharh sarvvakalpa-vyatītam
7. ...kshīṇaṃ ... damitarajaso vedhasaḥ saṁśrayī (yaḥ)
8. ···rāṭe[6a]jaḥ sa jayati satataṁ viśvadhāmā smarāriḥ [॥2॥]
9. (Svasti mā) nagṛihādbappapādānudhyātassatata mupachīyamāna
10. (Śaśāṅka[7]) kiraṇāmalayaśaḥ pratāno Lichchhavi kulaketu
11. (rbhaṭṭārakamahā) rāja śrī Śivadevaḥ kuśalī thaṅturīdraṅge
12. (pradhāna puras) sarāngrāma kuṭumbinaḥ kuśalamābhāshya[8]samā-
13. (jñāpayati vi) ditamastu vo yadetatpūrvva rājairasya draṅga[7a]
14. ... ...(u)[7b] pakarmmaparitushṭena mallakarakaraṇīyaṅ-kārshā
15. (paṇā) dūrddvaṁ na grahītavyamiti prasādaḥ kṛita ....
16. prasādasya dṛiḍhīkaraṇārtthaṁ sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka mahāpratihā
17. ra Bhaumaguptavijñāpitena mayā śilāpaṭṭakena prasādaḥ
18. kṛita iti samājñāpanā dūtakaśchātra mahābalāddhyaksha
19. Kulapravīra iti. Saṁvat 512[8] jyeshṭhaśukla daśmyām

This inscription has at least three new things which attract our attention at once. This inscription is dated in the (Śaka) year 512 (i.e. 590 A.D.) which is now the earliest known date of king Śivadeva I. Before the discovery of this inscription his earliest known date was (Śaka) *saṁvat* 515 mentioned in the Latitapur Chyasaltole Inscription.[9] Secondly this inscription mentions *sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka mahāpratihāra* Bhaumagupta which is the most important feature of this record. Thirdly it mentions *mahābalāddhyaksha* Kulapravīra as *dūtaka.*

Bhaumagupta is first mentioned in an inscription incised on the pedastal of a Śivaliṅga in the quadrangle of the temple of Paśupati dated in (Śaka) *saṁvat* 462, (A.D. 540).[10] This *linga* was called *Anuparameśvara* after the name

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of the donee Anuparama who was the son of Paramābhimānin. His wife hailed from Ābhīra clan and is called here Ābhīrī Gominī. And their son was Bhaumagupta. All these informations come from this inscription.

At the present stage of our knowledge it is difficult to ascertain about the father and grandfather of Bhaumagupta but these names do not appear to be the real names. Anuparama was certainly a pen name of the father of Bhaumagupta because we find that the 73 lines long[11] *stotra* of 34 verses was composed in honour of *Bhagavata Dvaipāyana* by a person who calls himself Anuparam.[12] R. Gnoli observes that 'the date of this inscription is missing, but the form of its characters reveals that it dates back to the time of Mānadeva or, at the latest of Vasantadeva.'[13] We know that later on in the time of Gaṇadeva Bhaumagupta appears as a *sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka* and *mahāpratihāra*.[14] This post was held by Ravigupta in the time of king Vasantadeva. If there is any chance of this post being hereditary Ravigupta *alias* Anuparama must have been the father of Bhaumagupta who died some time before *saṁ* 462 and after *saṁ* 454 (A.D. 532) when the former is mentioned for the last time as *dūtaka*.[15]

Allthough Bhaumagupta is mentioned in the inscription of *Saṁ* 462 (i.e. A. D. 540) perhaps he was a child at that time. After the death of his father the gap was filled by one *mahārāja mahāsāmanta Śrī* Kramalīlaḥ,[16] (perhaps an uncle of Bhaumagupta?). He appears with these titles alongwith Ravigupta also in some inscriptions, although next to Ravigupta.[17] Bhaumagupta for the first time appears in the Parfiṅa inscription[18] dated in *Saṁ* 479 (A. D. 457) with all his full title of *mahāpratihāra* & *sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka*. This inscription is similar in wordings with that of Gaṇadeva[19] dated in *Saṁ* 482 (A. D. 560) and therefore it may be of the time of the same king.[20] It means that Bhaumagupta came into power by *Saṁ* 479 (A. D. 557) and he remained as such until *Saṁ* 512 (i.e. A. D. 590) in the reign of Śivadeva I; for about 33 years.

This fact leads to certain startling conclusions.

Firstly it shatters the belief that Aṁśuvarmā started his career from the beginning of the reign of Śivadeva I.[21] The reasons for such a belief are obvious. Aṁśuvarmā started a new series of inscriptions in which he used a new era and the first of these is dated in the year 29.[22] Secondly he never mentions the name of his overlord the Lichchhavi king Śivadeva in this series of inscriptions. (But it is noteworthy that he always calls himself *śrī mahāsāmanta*[23] or simply *śrī*[24] although he already bears the title of *mahārājādhirāja* in an inscription of Sivadeva.[25]) These two elements, combined with the testimony

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of Yuan-Chwang[26] and the *Vaṁśāvalis*, were taken by the modern historians of Nepal as infallible evidences of a separate rule of Aṁśuvarmā independent of his Lichchhavi overlord. But the evidence of the inscriptions have never been fully analysed in a real perspective.

From the inscriptions it appears that Aṁśuvarmā was actually associated with the administration of the kingdom of Śivadeva only from the *Saṁ* 516 (A. D. 594).[27] He has not been associated in the Chāpāgāon Inscription,[28] the date of which can not be read but it must have been written between *Saṁ* 512 (A. D. 590) and *Saṁ* 516 (A. D. 594). Dhanavajra Vajrāchārya thinks that the date of this inscription should be *saṁ* 514 (A. D. 592).[29] Similarly, though the Chyasal Tole (Patan)[30] Inscription of *saṁ* 515 is very much wornout, it also does not appear to have the name of Aṁśuvarmā. Besides this, one more inscription has come out from Kumhāle Tole in Bhaktapur.[31] This is also wornout and without date but it contains words like *Lichchhavi-Kula-ketu* etc. which were the titles of Śivadeva. In this inscription also Aṁśuvarmā has not been mentioned.

On the basis of these inscriptions we can safely infer that Bhaumagupta was alive untill *saṁ* 512 and was in his office of *sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka* and *mahāpratihāra*. After his death Śivadeva had to run the administration without the help of any assistant for about four years. During these years there might have been some struggle and conspiracies to influence the king and occupy the position fallen vaccant by the death of Bhaumagupta.

At this point one can speculate about the two rival groups in the court of the Lichchhavis of Nepal. The first group might have been of the line of Ravigupta and his son Bhaumagupta whose grand-son was Jishṇugupta. The other group was perhaps that of Aṁśuvarmā. In the inscriptions of Śivadeva Aṁśuvarmā is styled as '*Svaparākramopaśamitāmitrapakshaprabhāven*'[32] i. e. 'one who has suppressed the influence of the enemy party by his own valour.' Thus there must have been some other party also in the court of the Lichchhavis. Secondly, from the very beginning we find Aṁśuvarmā assuming high sounding titles[33] and in one of the inscriptions he is called *mahārājādhirāja śrī sāmanta*.[34] It appears that all these were not his personal acquirements; he must have inherited some of these. This is supported by his new series of inscriptions dated in a new era. There he adopts the formula of introducing himself as '*bhagavatpaśupati bhaṭṭāraka pādānudhyāto*' and '*bappa pādaparigṛhīta*.'[35] This latter one suggests his noble lineage. At the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to ascertain about his family but we can venture a sugges-

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tion in this regard. In the Chowkitar inscription of Vasantadeva dated in *saṁ* 454 (A. D. 532) we suddenly find one *mahārāja mahāsāmanta śrī* Kramalīla associated with *sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka mahāpratihāra* Ravigupta.[36] These two are also mentioned in another inscription of the same date and the same king found at Pāsiṅkhya near Balambu.[37] This is the last mention of Ravigupta in his office. In the Paśupati Inscription of *saṁ* 462 he is mentioned in his pseudonym of Anuparama by his wife Ābhīrī Gominī as a person who had passed away. But *mahāraja mahāsāmanta śrī* Kramalīla appears until the time of Rāmadeva in *saṁ* 467 (A. D. 545).[38] The question arises who this Kramalīla was and why he finds mention with such high sounding titles ? The normal answer seems to be that perhaps he was some king who had to accept the suzerainty of the Lichchhavis and his title of *mahārāja* came to him from his ancesstors. Perhaps the title of the *mahāsāmanta* was due to his association to the Lichchhavi court. This title we find attached with the name of Aṁśuvarmā also. Could we infer from all this that Aṁśuvarmā was the son/grandson or one of the successors of Kramalīla ?

Anyway this Vishṇupādukā inscription of Śivadeva, dated in year 512 settles that Aṁśuvarmā got himself associated with the administration of the Lichchhavis sometime after *saṁ* 512 and not from the beginning of the career of Śivadeva I as a king.

The other problem is of the starting of the new era. This era is used in the inscriptions of *mahāsāmanta* Aṁśuvarmā the earliest of which is dated in saṁ. 29.[39]

It can not be assumed that this was his own regnal year or he started his career 29 years earlier. Perhaps the starting point of this era had nothing to do with the career of Aṁśuvarmā. Certainly it appears to have some connection either with his overlord Śivadeva or any of his immediate predecessors. We have reasons to believe that this era was perhaps counted with the beginning of the reign of Śivadeva I. Several scholars have worked about the initial year of this era and now they[41] appear to be unanimous on A.D. 576.

Now let us look at the period just before Śivadeva I. According to *Vaṁśāvalis* Śivadeva I was the son of Guṇakāmadeva.[42] He can be safely identified with the king Gaṇadeva of the inscriptions whose reign period ranges between *saṁ* 479 (A.D. 557)[43] and 487 (A.D. 565).[44] In the year 489 (A D. 567) we find one *bhaṭṭāraka mahārāja śrī* Gaṅgādeva on the Lichchhavi throne. There is some dispute regarding the name of the king in this inscription. Gnoli[45] reads the name as Gaṇadeva but the Nepalese scholars assert that the

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name of the king in this inscription is Gaṅgādeva and not Gaṇadeva which they claim to have varified from a better impression in the Rāshṭriya Abhilekhāgāra and also from the original one.[46] Thus is appears that king Gaṇadeva died some time after *saṁ* 487 (A.D. 565) and his elder son Gaṅgādeva came to the throne. In his inscription Gaṅgādeva calls himself *bappapādānudhyātaḥ*, i.e. 'meditating on the feet of (his) father'. This expression is used when the throne comes to the king as a legal heritage from his father. But if it comes as a result of usurpation this expression cannot be used as we find in the cases of Dhruvaddeva and Bhīmārjunadeva. But as we have already noted above *Vaṁśāvalīs* refer Śivadeva as the son of Gaṇadeva we must surmise that Gaṅgādeva was the elder son of the latter and perhaps he died without leaving any heir and therefore Śivadeva came to the throne. He also styles himself as *bappapādānudhyātaḥ*, and therefore claims the throne to have come to him from his father. This incident perhaps took place in *saṁ*. 498 (A.D. 576).

Now there is no ground to believe that there is a dearth of inscriptions for 'two decades since *Saṁvat* 489.'[47] Now new inscriptions have come to light since then which fillin the gap to a certain extent. The Maṅgala Bāzār Inscription is dated in *saṁ* 492 (A. D. 470) written on behalf of one Bhāravi; who claims himself to be the daughter's son of king Mānadeva (the first) in an inscription dated in *saṁ* 472.[48] The other one is a Mātṛikā Pedastal Inscription[49] from Śaṅkhamūla Sikubahī (Patan) dated in *saṁ* 495 (473). Thus the gap seems to have been sufficiently filled up but we do not get any inscriptional evidence of a king named Mānadeva (to be called Mānadeva the second) during this period. On the other hand almost all the Nepalese scholars are convinced about his existence at this time.[50] Perhaps this belief was motivated by the fact that the new ere was called the *Māndeva saṁvat* in *Sumatitantra*[51] and stated to have started in the Śaka *saṁvat* 498 or A.D. 576.[52] Had there been any important king of this name in *saṁ* 498 and also had he done some important work in his life to be commemorted with such a memorable event as establishing a new era he should have left some record of his time in stone, and, as a matter of fact he also should have lived sufficiently long to see it established. These requirements appear to have been filled up by Śivadeva who ruled atleast upto *Saṁ*. 535 i. e. for more than 37 years.[53] Also the assumption of the titles like *lichchhavikulaketurbhaṭṭārakamahāraja*[54] and issuing ordinances without the consultation of any of his subordinates, as we have already noted above, are sufficient to prove that he was not a puppet in the hands of his prime minister, atleast during his early years. By *saṁ* 516 he must have had earned sufficient prestige and established himself firmly on the

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Lichchhavi throne to appoint a Prime Minister like Aṁśuvarmā. But it is wrong to think that Aṁśuvarmā rose to prominence all at once. He had to ascend the steps of glory from the very beginning.

We are not sure how the name of king Mānadeva was associated with this new era. We have discussed elsewhere[55] that the *Mānāṅka* and *Guṇāṅka* coins were the commemorative issues of the time of Śivadeva. Similarly it was also decided to establish an era to commemorate the first king of the dynasty Mānadeva. This was perhaps done on the initiative of Aṁśuvarmā to commemorate the 30 years of the glorious reign of Śivadeva. In the Hāndigāon inscription of the year 30 Aṁśuvarmā makes arrangements for this ceremony.[56] It was perhaps, planned one year earlier when Śivadeva went to the background after *saṁ* 526 having Aṁśuvarmā to go ahead with the arrangements. It was not merely an accident that the Buṅmatī Inscription dated on the 10th day of bright half of Jyeshṭha year 29 and the Hāndigāon Inscription dated on the 6th day of the bright half of Jyeshṭha year 30 were written in the same month. Perhaps this was the time of the accession of Śivadeva 30 years earlier. These inferences are likely when we consider the facts that Śivadeva was alive till the year 536 and issued ordinance in his name[57] and his son Udayadeva ruled for some time on the Lichchavi throne and mentions Aṁśuvarmā as equal to himself in status as we shall see a little later.

A word about the mention of Bhaumagupta in the present inscription also seems necessary. In this inscription the *sri* prefix is not attached to the name of Bhaumagupta but he retains his full official titles of *sarvvadaṇḍanāyaka* and *mahāpratihāra*. Dhanavajra Vajrācharya inferes from this that the decline of Bhaumagupta had started by this time.[58] But this does not appear necessary. Aṁśuvarmā comes on the scene after a gap of about four years. Had there been any conspiracy on the part of Aṁśuvarmā to oust Bhaumagupta, as Vajrāchary thinks, he would have been appointed earlier. On the other hand Bhaumagupta seems to have died a natural death after remaining in the office for about 33 years. Lack of the prefix *śrī* does not appear to be a sure sign of disrespect to Bhaumagupta who might have been too advanced in age.

II

The other important epigraphical discovery of the Lichchhavi period of Nepal is the Chitalāṅa Inscription of Udayadeva dated *saṁ* 45 (A D. 621). It was first discovered by Hema Rāja Śākya and was noticed in the '*Abhilekha Prakāśa*' p. 12. But it was first published by Dhanavajra

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Vajrācharya and Hemanta Rana in '*Tistuṅga Chitalāṅabhekā ko Aitihāsika Sāmagrī*' (Nepali) p. 19. The text of the inscription is as follows :[59]

TEXT

1. ... .
2. ... .. bhagavataśupati bhaṭṭārakapādānugṛīhītoba
3. (ppapā) dānudhyāto bhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirājaśrī Udaya-devaḥ ku
4. (śalī) ... ... nivāsinaḥ kuṭumbino yathā pradhānaṅk-uśalamābhāshya
5. (samā) jñāpayati viditamastu vo yo yushmadīya tala pratibaddha ...
6. .... bhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirājā śryaṁśuvarma pādai ... . pāñchā
7. likānāmagraharoyṁ prasādīkṛitobhūt ... smābhiresha ... pāñchā
8. likānāṁ yathā sukhamparibhogārthamagrahāra ... . prasādīkṛita (śchira-)
9. sthitaye chābhilekhya ... śāsanamidandattaṁ sīmāchāsya ...
10. ... . khātaka ... . guṁśikhara—
11. ... . yā ... ... sa eva khātaka ityetatsīmaparikshipta ...
12. ... . nyairvā na kaiśchi (dalpāpi) pīḍā vidheyā ya
13. stvetāmājñāmatikramyānyathā kuryā (tkārayedvā)
14. .... marshayishyāmo bhavishyadbhirapi bhūpatibhira-smaṭkṛita prasādonya
15. (thā na) karaṇīya iti ... ... dūtakaśchātra sarva
16. ... ... saṁvat 45 (Ā) shāḍhakṛishṇa dvādaśyām.

Vajacharya observes[60] that though some portions of this inscription is gone but the name of, the king is clearly seen. The portion bearing the date is also wornout but with some difficulty he was able to make it out that it is '*saṁvat* 45.'

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This is important from many point of views. If the reading of the date of this inscription is correct, we can determine the time of the death of Aṁśuvarmā. The Tuṇḍīkhel[61] inscription is dated in Jyeshṭha of the year 45. This is the last inscription mentioning Aṁśuvarmā. The present inscription, which was written just in the next month, mentions Aṁśuvarmā as a king of the past. Thus he must have died either in the month of Jyeshṭha or Ashādha of the year 45 (A.D. 621).

Besides this the Chitalāña inscription sheds very welcome light on many mute and disturbing points of the Lichchhavi history of Nepal. Udayadeva finds mention in the inscriptions of Aṁśuvarmā as *yuvarāja*, the dates in some of these is preserved as *saṁ* 37[62] and *Saṁ* 39.[63] This lead some[64] to speculate that this Udayadeva was different from Udayadeva mentioned in the famous Paśupati inscription of Jayadeva dated in *Saṁ* 157.[65] This naturally lead them to the conclusion that Udayadeva of Aṁśuvarmā's inscriptions was perhaps the son and seccessor of the latter. But, that this Udayadeva was a Lichchhavi prince and the same person is referred to in the Paśupati inscription was confirmed by the Chinese sources also.[66] But so far there was no evidence whether he actually ruled or not. This inscription confirms that Udayadeva was on the Lichchhavi throne in *Saṁ.* 45 (A. D. 621). 'According to the Chinese history, the date for Udayadeva corresponds to 615-20 A. D.'[67] It would not be fruitful here to discuss the controversial portion of the Paśupati inscription of Jayadeva but we must accept that Udayadeva was the father of Narendradeva on the strength of Chinese and Tibbtan sources. It was he who, according to the Chinese sources, was dethroned by the uncle of Narendradeva and the latter had to flee to Tibet.[68]

Now from the inscriptional evidence we can deduct that this uncle was none other than Dhruvadeva whose first joint inscription with Jishṇugupta is dated in *Saṁ* 48 (A. D. 624).[69] The last inscription[70] of Śivadeva is dated in *Saṁ* 535 (A. D. 613). In the inscription of Aṁśuvarmā of the same year (i. e. *Saṁ.* 37 or A. D. 613) Udayadeva is mentioned as *Yuvarāja.* Two years later (i. e. in the year 39 or A. D. 615) also Udayadeva was *Yuvarāja.* Thus we can safely infer that Śivadeva was alive atleast until the 12th day of the bright half of the month Vaiśākha of the year 39 (i. e. A. D. 615).[71] After that Udayadeva must have been installed on the Lichchhavi throne and ruled as a king until *saṁ.*45 (A. D. 621). This is in confirmity with the Chinese history which places the reign of Udayadeva between A. D. 615 and 620. It is obvious that the reign of Udayadeva was stable due to the personality of Aṁśuvarma and as soon as he

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died the former was dethroned by his younger brother, Dhruvadeva, perhaps with the help of the grand-son of Bhaumagupta.

On the other hand H. N. Jha tells us another story. He observes: "In the year 30th Aṁśuvarman is found as the ruler of state of Nepal although he calls himself merely *Mahāsāmanta Śrī* and these epithets he continues upto the year 39, 535 *Śaka* when most probaly Śivadeva died and after which he (Aṁśu), to the probable nonplussedness and great misfortune of Udayadeva, annexed the latter's territory to his own and took the full royal titls of *Mahārājādhirāja* and also issued coins. It would naturally have been like a bolt from the blue to Udayadeva who was aspiring after not only getting the throne of his father but also of Aṁśuvarman after the latter's demise. He would have begun to visualise that there was no guarantee of even succeeding Aṁśuvarman. So, in a desperate attempt he would have manoeuvred to seek help from other sources. Secretly he would have managed to get the sympathy of the rival group of the Guptas who were awaiting such an opportunity for a long time. Openly they could do nothing againt Aṁśuvarman as he had proved himself the strongest personality of the time. So they could have thought of secret plans of conspiracies and revolutions, which paved the way for the Guptas becoming again a vital force in the politics of Nepal."

Now there is no need for such a fantasy. The position of Udayadeva is clear as *bhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja*. The question is whether he succeeded Aṁśuvarmā, who is also styled here as *bhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja*, or Śivadeva, who was his father. The Nepali scholar Vajracharya observes that Udayadeva was called *mahārājādhirāja* because he succeeded Aṁśuvarmā.[72] But the present inscription itself gives its verdict on the point. In the inscription Udayadeva styles himself as *bappapādānudhyāta* i.e. meditating on the feet of (his) father. This expression is relevent only in the case when the throne comes from the father of the king as a legal inheritence. This expression cannot be used otherwise as we have observed in the case of Dhruvadeva and Bhīmārjunadeva. Perhaps the latter one was the younger brother of Dhruvadeva or some other person of the royal Lichchhavi family. Thus the continuity of the line of Śivadeva was maintained.

But the question of Aṁśuvarmā being styled as *bhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja* remains to be answered. Not only in this inscription but also in the Chhinnamastā inscription of Dhruvadeva and Jishṇugupta dated *saṁ.* 48, he is designated with this title. Thus it appears to be the accepted title for Aṁśuvarmā. As we have observed above perhaps he belonged to the family of *mahārāja mahā-*

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sāmanṭa Kramalīla. That is why Śivadeva called him a *mahāsāmanta* from the very beginning and in one of his inscriptions he styles him as *mahārājādhirāja śrī sāmanta* also. But it is difficult to explain the term *bhaṭṭāraka* which was reserved for the god Paśupati and the king on throne. Perhaps no satisfactory explanation can be given at present except that by his seniority and long association in the administration of the Lichchhavis Aṁśuvarmā acquired a position equal to the father of Udayadeva. This can not be understood in the western regal concept where every decorum is observed very formally. One can understand this phenomenon in typical cultural context of the Hindus where a servent finds mention as elders and is respected as such. But this does not satisfy a historian who has his training in the western school. But it is certainly established by this inscription that Aṁśuvarmā neither deserted Śivadeva nor established a separate kingdom for himself dividing Nepal into two powers as it is generally believed.

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5. Based on the readings of Dhanavajara Vajrācharya '*Lichchhavikāla kā Abhilekha*', p. 214 f and Hari Ram Joshi '*Nepāla ko Prāchīna Abhilekha*', p. 201.
6. Vajracharya reads *saṁrggamādya* (*m*).

6a. Joshi reads *rāmatejāḥ*. 7. Hari Ram Joshi does not restore this.

7a. Joshi reads *draṅgā*. 7b. Joshi does not restores this.

8. It should be 500 10 2. 9. Gnoli, No. XXII. 10. *Ibid.* No. XVI.

11. *Ibid.* No. XI. 12. *Ibid* p. 17. 13. *Ibid* p. 14.

14. *Ibid* No. XIX. 15. *Ibid* No. XV. 16. *Ibid* No. XVII.

17. *Ibid.* No. XV. 18. Vajracharya, p. 182 and Joshi, p. 144.

19. Gnoli, No. XIX. 20. Vajracharya, p. 184.

21. Jha, H. N., *The Lichchhavis*, pp. 120-21.

22. Gnoli (No. XXXIX) has read year 34 in this inscription but the Nepalese scholars have read the date 29, cf. Vajracharya, p. 290 and Joshi p. 269.

23. cf. Gnoli, Nos. XXXV to XXXIX and others.

24. *Ibid*, No. XLI. 25. *Ibid*, No. XXXIII, line 7.

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26. Beal, *Travels of Hiouen-Thsang*, Vol. III, p 319. "Lastly there was a king called Aṁśuvarman (An chu-fa-mo), who was distinguished for his learning and ingenuity".

27. cf. Gnoli, No. XXIII, Bhimasena (Patna) Inscription. Gnoli reads the date 517 but it is clearly 516. 28. Gnoli, No. XXXII.

29. *Op. cit.* p. 227. 30. Gnoli, No. XXII and Vajracharya pp. 229-30.

31. Vajracharya, pp. 231-32 and Joshi, p. 216. 32. cf. Gnoli Nos. XXIV, XXV.

33. *Ibid.* Nos XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVII, XXVIII, XXXI etc.

34. *Ibid.* No. XXXIII line 7. 35. *Ibid* Nos. XXXV, and following.

36. *Ibid.* No. XV. 37. Vajracharya p. 147 and Joshi p. 104.

38. Gnoli No. XVII. Here Gnoli reads the date as 569 but it is 567.

39. Vajracharya, p. 290; Joshi p. 269. Gnoli reads the date 34. cf. his No. XXXIX.

40. Vajracharya pp. 282-83 and Joshi pp. 264-65.

41. cf. Petech, Luciano; 'The Chronology of the Early Inscriptions of Nepal,' *East and West*, New Series, Vol. 12, No. 4 December 1961, pp. 227-232; S.R. Goel, *Prāchīna Nepāl kā Rājanītika aura sāṁskṛtika Itihāsa*, (Hindi) Varanasi, 1973, pp. 34-55 and many others. In the 'Introduction' to '*The Coinage of Nepal*' by Walsh, (Reprinted, 1973) pp. V-VI, I had accepted A D. 574 as the initial date of this era on the basis of Dr H.N. Jha's arguments who based himself on Yogi Naraharinath's readings. But it is apparantly incorrect. Now I have accepted A.D. 576 as the initial year.

42. Wright, Daniel; *History of Nepal translated from Parbatiya*, Cambridge, 1877 p. 74.

43. Vajracharya, pp. 182-83.

44. *Ibid.* pp. 198-99. Gnoli No. XX, but he has read the date as 489.

45. No. XXI, This is No. 8 of Levi who also reads this name of the king.

46. Vajracharya, p. 204 and p. 206, cf. Joshi p. 177 who also reads the name as Gaṅgādeva. 47. Ragmi, D.R., *Ancient Nepal*, 3rd Edition 1969, p. 152.

48. Vajracharya, p. 179 (The Hāṅḍigāon inscription of Bhāravi).

49. *Ibid*, p. 211, and Joshi, p. 183.

50. cf. Regmi, D.R., *op. cit.* p. 153, 155; Vajracharya. p. 417 and many others.

51. Jayaswal, K.P., *JBORS*, Vol. XXII, p. 193 and pl. VI.

52. Petech, L., *op. cit.* p. 228.

53. cf Gnoli, No. XL. The *Gopālarāja Vaṁśāvalī*, however, allots him a reign period of 41 years (*vide.* Vajracharya, p 237).

54. It is not true that Śivadeva I was the first ruler who claimed to belong to the *Lichchhavi Kula.* Mānadeva also was called "*Lichchhavikulāmbarapūruṇṇachandraḥ*," i e. full moon in the sky of the Lichchhavi kula. cf. Sūryaghāṭa Inscription of Vijayavati dated 427 (A.D. 505); Vajracharya, p. 83.

55. See '*Introduction*', *The Coinage of Nepal* by Walsh, (1973 Reprint) pp. xvi ff.

56. cf Gnoli No. XXXV. 57. *Ibid*, No. XL. 58. *Op. cit.* p. 216.

59. *Ibid.* pp. 398-99. 60. *Ibid.* p. 399. 61. Gnoli, No. XLVIII.

62. Vajracharya p. 349. 63. Gnoli No. XLI.

64. cf. Fleet, *CII*, Vol. III, p. 180 fn. 3 and Table on p. 189.

65. cf. Gnoli, No. LXXXI. Here Gnoli reads the date as 159. Pt. Bhagvanlal Indraji reads as 153 but the Nepalese scholars have read it as 157, *vide*, Vajracharya, pp. 548 ff and Joshi, pp. 576 ff.

66. cf. *History of the T'ang Dynasty*, Bks. 256-57, Translated by Bushell in *JRAS*, 1880, p. 529. 67. Ragmi, D.R., *op. cit.* p. 94.

68. *History of the T'ang Dynasty*, *JRAS*, 1880, p. 529.

69. Gnoli, No. L. 70. *Ibid*, No. XL. 71. *Ibid*, No. XLI. 72. *Op. cit.*, p. 40.0

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SOCIAL MOBILITY IN ANCIENT AND EARLY MEDIAEVAL INDIA—SOME ISSUES

SIBESH BHATTACHARYA

Some recent studies in social mobility in ancient India have covered much new ground and have provided stimulus for further thought on the subject.[1] In the present paper an attempt has been made to discuss some of the issues that the question of social mobility in ancient India raises. Our paper mainly covers the period form *circa* 600 B. C. onwards because it is from that period that we get firm evidence of a stratified society.[2] Dealing with a country as vast as ours, with marked regional variations and diversities in social customs and habits, there is always a very great risk in generalisations. The risk increases severalfold when the period covered is ancient; the evidences we are forced to rely on are not only numerically very very small but are also extremely tenuous in nature. In spite of these dangers of pitfalls, we think that the risk is worth taking. The Indian social setup and social dynamics were characterised by a central unity which refused to surrender itself completely to regional or temporal variations.[3]

We have chosen to begin our discussion by re-iterating Kosambi's observation that the most important determinants of the ancient Indian social structure were : (a) the caste system, and (b) the existence of a number of tribal groups which were continually being absorbed into the general society.[4] The question of the origin of the caste system[5] does not directly concern us here. It is of no particular relevance for us to discuss whether the system developed out of a really simple fourfold social division that obtained during the early Vedic period or the *varṇa* divisions were originally a mere theoretical attempt at rationalisation of a complex inter-group social relationships.[6] That the actual state of the society was more complex than what is adumbrated in the *varṇa* theory can hardly be overstressed.[7] Yet, it would be a grave mistake to completely deny the importance of *varṇas* and to approach the problem of sektching the ancient Indian social structure as if the *varṇa* distinctions did not exist.[8] Even though the *varṇa* theory was not a complete statement of the social groupings, its significance as a scheme of hierarchical stratification of the society and reference model for upward social mobility was universally accepted. Besides the Brahmanical scriptures, *varṇa* divisions were accepted, albiet

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grudgingly, by even the egalitarian non-Brahmanical religious movements.[9] Moreover, the *varṇa* division was not just a theoretical model, it had an actual structural bearing on the society; it provided the primary basis of social divisions, the peg to hang on the smaller social units, endogamous and exogamous, like the *jāti, gotra, pravara,* etc. Whether it was caste, caste-cluster or sub-caste[10], the social position of a group had to be recognised, particularly at the ritual level, by reference to its situation in the *varṇa* hierarchy. Eveh though a Brāhmaṇa doing priestation for low-castes would not be given the same honour as a normal Brāhmaṇa or cooked food from him would not be accepted by even some non-Brāhmaṇas[11], he would continue to perform all his *saṁskāras* according to the rites prescribed for the Brāhmaṇas. Whenever a new group was integrated into the general society, it had to be first given a place in the *varṇa* structure and provided with an appropriate religious and ritual basis. Only after a group could secure a place in one of the *varṇas* it could become a part of a, or form a new, endogamous or exogamous unit within that *varṇa.*[12]

While dealing with society in ancient India, we must also keep in mind the huge importance the *varṇas* had in the law codes of the country. Even a cursory glance at the Indian judicial life during the ancient period makes it obvious that the system of law and theory of punishment was very largely *varṇa* based —the mode and the amount of punishment were decided on the basis of the *varṇas* of the offender and the victim.[13] Even the method of tribal and judicial administration had open *varṇa* bias for example, only Brāhmaṇas were thought competent to act as judge, and witnesses in certain kinds of cases could be cited only from some particular *varṇas.* As these glaringly unjust principles have been abolished now and equality before law has been granted to everybody, the modern socioiogical studies donot reflect a very great importance of the *varṇa* divisions. But to take the clue from them and to ignore the significance of the *varṇas* for the society in ancient India would be misleading.

Varṇa, then, was the fundamental category. However, on account of its seemingly unweildy size and the great divergences in custom and conduct between different groups within a *varṇa,* the modern sociological scholarship has not given it the importance it once had (when the Indian scriptures were being composed).[14] The importance of the *varṇa* divisions for any group seeking entry into the main society is also proved by such expressions as *Brāhmaṇakṛitaḥ, Kshatriyakṛitaḥ,* etc., found in Pāṇini for the integrated external groups[15], and the *Brāhmṇavrātya, Kshatriyavrātya,* etc., in Manu.[16] Even the social distance of the *Antyajas* from the main society was measured by their relationship with

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different *varṇa* divisions through parentage. Thus in any consideration of the Indian social mobility, especially for mobility in ancient India, we have to take the *varṇa* dlvisions as one of our major frames of reference.[17]

The presence of a large number of tribal peoples on its periphery constituted one of the major problems of the Indian society from a very early time. It was a matter of great concern for the social thinkers to define the relationship of these tribes to the general society. One of the earliest of such attempts can be found in the explanation given by Aupamanyava in *Nirukta* of the Ṛigvedic term *pañchajanāḥ*.[18] According to a legend in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, the tribes like the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Punlindas, Muṭibas, etc., desended from the recalcitrant sons of Viśvāmitra and they came to be ranked among the dasyus for failing to conform to the prescribed standards of conduct for the orthodox.[20] Already in these early statements the attitude of the Brahmanical authors towards the tribal peoples becomes clear. Even though it was recognised that the tribes formed a part of the broad social *milieu*, an endeavour was made to keep them outside the main social divisions.[21] The status granted to them by the Brahmanical theorists would conform to Toynbee's definition of the *proleteriat*, that is, a social group which finds itself 'in' but not 'of' the society.[22] This attitude found its classic expression in the work of Manu, in the theory of *varṇasaṁkara* and the theory of *vrātya*.[23] Naturally, however, all tribes were not prepared to accept the 'proleteriat' status; in fact many of the tribes, or sections of them, effectively used their power—economic, political or otherwise—to secure for themselves positions within the *varṇa* framework.[24]

The question of status-ranking in ancient India therefore cannot be dissociated from the *varṇa* structure. Yet the *varṇa*-ranking should not be interpreted as identical with status-ranking. In fact from a study of the place, privileges, and inter-relationships of different social groups we find that the *varṇa* structure under the pressure of economic developments[25] and the consequent new value orientation centering round wealth and power[26] had to accomodate new socio-economic groups within its matrix. Some of these groups cut across the *varṇa* divisions leading to a bifurcation of each *varṇa*, manifested much more strongly in the three upper *varṇas* than in the fourth,[27] into two sharp divisions based on success or failure to control the means of effective economic and political power.[28] Each of the three upper *varṇas* had a small 'dominant' and a large 'commoner' group, the dominant group being the one which succeded in securing a place in the power structure of the society.

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The means and methods adopted for seizing control of power differed from one *varṇa* to another in accordance with tbe ascribed role of each *varṇa* within the traditional (i.e., the Vedic *purushasūkta* theory of social differentiations which had acquired sanctity and theoretical acceptance) *varṇa* framework. The Brāhmaṇa method was *śāstric.* As the repository of *śāstric* knowledge he claimed the exclusive right to interpret, and in effect to determine, the rules of conduct including the conduct of the state. He reached the political decision-making through the ministers, the *purohita* and the *rājaguru* (most, if not all, of the above dignitaries were recruited from the Brāhmaṇa *varṇa*); the legislasion and judiciary through his right to interpret the *dharma.* Through his right to receive gift (*dāna*) and claims to the exemption from taxation and levies, the claims were not always real, he endeavoured for economic gains. The religious life of the society completely and the intellectual life very largely were dominated by the Brāhmaṇas through their exclusive right to priestation and teaching. The Kshatriya's attempt to control the arteries of power found expression through his hallowed duty of 'protecting people', through army and bureaucracy[29] and the Vaiśya's through exploiting his wealth and hold over the economy.[30]

The abler numbers of these three upper *varṇas,* to together formed the 'elite group' of the society, were trying to reach out, and were competing with each other in doing so, to the same end, that is securing an effective place in the power structure of the society. Since the mutual competition between the different *varṇa* segments of the elite group took place through different avenues, and since each segment endeavoured to capture a different area of the power structure through its respective sphere of influence, the frictions of the competition did not hurt the *varṇa* structure very much. Even when there was an overlapping of the avenues of competition, especially in the area of economic privileges,[31] the *varṇa* structure was able to absorb the shocks by slightly stretching the system.[32]

The growth of a dominant section in each of the three upper *varṇas* was not just a devisive factor leading to the segmentation of these *varṇas,* it also acted as a cohesive force against the *varṇa* exclusiveness giving birth to the elite group consisting of the dominant members of the three upper *varṇas.* The social relationship that characterised the elite group was, in Max Weber's terminology, 'associative.' The social action within the group rested on a rationally motivated adjustment of interests. It was both 'open' and 'closed.' It was open for the members of the three upper *varṇas,* membership was not determined by birth;

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entry to the group was possible through achievement and conforming to the standards of the group. The door of entry was heavier for the Vaiśyas than the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas. It was closed for the Śūdras and Antyajas.[33] This elite group which was also a kind of a 'status group' had its appropriate marks and symbols: (I) all members had to be twice-born (the *upanayana* and Vedic education being the most important marks), (II) wealth, political power and influence and the power of patronage were the other qualifications that every member had to possess. Śūdras and Antyajas were excluded because they were not *dvija*, an ignorant Brāhmaṇa because he was not versed in the Vedas; even a cultivated but poor Brāhmaṇa was not included in the group because he lacked political and economic power.

Economically or politically the upper *varṇas* were not homogeneous groups; a wide gulf of power and privileges separated the dominant section from the rest (commoner) in the three higher *varṇas*. In some cases at least, there was a sense of hostility between the dominant group and the rest within a higher *varṇa*. This seems to have been particularly strong among the Brāhmaṇa *varṇa*—the money and power seeking Brāhmaṇas (*devalaka*, king's servants, the Brāhmaṇas greedy for *dāna*, etc,) were objects of censure and ridicule.[34] Hence we find a curiously paradoxical attitude towards the framing of the model of life-style of the Brāhmaṇas in the *Smṛitis*; the ideal of plain living and high thinking on the one hand, and the endeavour to secure various economic and political privileges on the other, are found juxtaposed in the *Smṛitis*. Similarly, among the Vaiśyas a wide gulf separated the successful commercial men from the ordinary peasant folk.

In contrast to the internal division of the upper *varṇas* into two sections, the dominant and the commoner, there was a sense of comradeship between the members of the elite group belonging to different *varṇas*. This comradeship transcended the *varṇa* distinctions and held the group together—the sons of the purohiṭa, the king, the general and the merchant are great friends in our folk tales. There was much more common between the life-style of an *aśītikoṭi vibhava mahāśāla* Brāhmaṇa and a *seṭṭhi* than between a *mahāśāla* Brāhmaṇa and a poor Brāhmaṇa village priest. Same was the case with a *seṭṭhi* and an ordinary Vaiśya cultivator, their worlds being totally different. Thus in spite of *varṇa* differences, the elite formed a composite group.

As for the Śūdras and Antyajas, however, there was no scope for working their way up to the elite ruling group through individual achievement and initiative. The wealthy, influential and powerful members of these orders

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(Śūdras and Antyajas) did form an elite group within their respective orders and they were considered to be leaders of their own *varṇa* or caste both by the members of their orders as well as by the upper *varṇas*.[35] These leaders were treated with greater consideration by the members of the higher *varṇas*, but their leadership was recognised as operating only within the limits of their own *varṇa* or caste affairs—they would not be admitted to the general leadership of the entire society. Thus we find that the wealthy *sat*—Śūdras were given some religious and educational concessions, but these did not entitle them to weild any real influence beyond the limits of their own *varṇa*.[36]

Social ranking therefore should not be identified with *varṇa* hierarchy—all Brāhmaṇas, for example, should not be ranked above all Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas. In fact we have to adopt two different standards for measuring the social ranks. The society has first to be divided into two categories: 'elites' and 'non-elites'. We saw above that each of the three upper *varṇas* had a small dominant and influential section; the dominant sections of the three higher *varṇas* together constituted the elite group, the rest of the society formed the non-elite category. For the ranking of the members of the elite group power, money and personal achievements were as important as the *varṇa* position, where as for the rest the *varṇa* position was the most important, almost the sole, factor determining one's station in life.

From the propositions set forth above it should be clear that mobility urge was nothing but an endeavour to enter the elite group. This, however, had different connotations for the members of the different *varṇas*. For the members of the three twice-born *varṇas* it simply meant enhancement of power, prestige and influence. In other words upward social mobility for the members of these three higher *varṇas* did not ordinarily involve an accompanying change in their *varṇa status*. One could achieve this passage through one's own personal drive and initiative. Thus an ordinary Vaiśya peasant could become an influential *gahapati*[37] or a commoner nobody could grow into a multi-millionaire grandee with Kshatriyas and Brāhmaṇas waiting on him.[38] During the mediaeval period some wealthy Vaiśya merchants began to join the *sāmanta* order, held high positions in the court, some even fought actual battles, but these did not always confer Kshatriyahood on them.[39] Similarly, a wealthy Brāhmaṇa merchant retained his Brāhmaṇa *varṇa* and did not become a Vaiśya on account of his occupation.[40] Since this kind of upward mobility for twice-born *varṇas* was a simple movement from the non-elite to the elite group without entailing any change in the *varṇa* rank, and since this movement took place

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more at individual level rather than at group level, it did not make much difference to the appearance of social physiognomy. Because of their inconspicuousness therefore only a few of the evidence of this kind of social mobility have survived.

Entry to the elite group for the Sūdras, the Antyajas and the outsiders (the outsiders included both the foreign invaders as well as the indigenous tribes seeking or being given entry to the Hindu society) meant not only achieving a dominant position but also using their dominance for climbing up the *varṇa* ladder to one of the three twice-born ranks. Acquisition of mere power, either political or economic, was not enough. The Nandas could never wipe off their low origin.[41] Another instance of failure to achieve elite status despite economic prosperity is afforded by the Suvarṇavaṇikas of Bengal who were forced into a degraded social position by king Ballālasena.[42] For upward mobility the groups enumerated above needed a more direct influence than the non-elite twice-borns over the forces that regulated the *varṇa* organisation. Since the maintenance of the *varṇa* order was the duty of the king,[43] acquiring of political power was the easiest and by far the surest way of achieving elite status by forcing acceptance into one of the higher *varṇa* ranks. It was also of course necessary to 'Sanskritise' one's way of life[44] and adopt at least a semblance of conformity to the ritual standards of the *varṇa* to which entry was sought. As political dominance opened the way to upward social mobility more than any other means, adoption of Kshatriya model and claim to Kshatriya status were resorted to much more frequently than laying claims to other *varṇas* by the Śūdras and outsiders in their bid to enter the elite group. The Śakas, for example, forced their recognitioa as Kshatriyas.[45] Similarly, King Menander is described in the *Milindapañha* as a descendant of the Kshatriya kings of old.[46] During the post-Gupta period even the Gonds and Bhārs came to be given Kshatriya status.[47] Brāhmaṇa and Vaiśya models were also adopted. It was possible to acquire Brāhmaṇa status, and a few instances of recruitment from outside to the Brāhmaṇa category are mentioned in our literature.[48] The Paṇis perhaps furnish one of the earliest examples of a foreign people to be accepted among the third *varṇa*.[49] We need not further dilate on this point. It is clear that the upward mobility urge found expression in the claim laid to one of the twice-born ranks by a low or an external social group.[50]

The model chosen depended on a variety of factors. In this connection we may quote with approval what a modern anthropologist has written in the modern context : "Which category is selected by those of an aspirant group

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depends on such factors as their origin myth, the attraction of a locally dominant group, and on calculation of the most feasible strategy for status gain. Whatever model is chosen, the general requirements of each are well known.... In simplest terms jatis classed as Brahmins are expected to stress purity, piety, learning, and priesthood more than do others in their locality. Kshatriyas for their part emphasize honour, virtue, force and masculinity. Vaishyas pride themselves on steadiness, thrift, intelligence as well as purity and piety."[51]

Normally the endeavour to climb up the *varṇa* hierarchy involved long and sustained efforts because any claim to a higher rank than what was traditionally assigned to a given group was viewed as a threat to the established superiority of the upper classes. The claimed status was granted, when the claimant group was sufficiently powerful, after some opposition which would take some length of time to wear out.[52] In some cases it was conceded by stages and not all at once. Patañjali, during whose times the Greeks and the Śakas were building up their political authority in India, included the Yavanas and the Śakas among the Śūdras, though they were not considered as polluting.[53] By the time of the *Manusmṛiti* the Śakas and the Yavanas came to be conceded the status of degraded Kshatriyas.[54] As we noted above, the Śakas, and some Yavanas like king Milinda, were finally conceded full Kshatriya status. The Ābhīras, who perhaps were a foreign tribe, were associated with the Śūdras in the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali[55] and were described as a mixed caste by Manu.[56] But they came to be included among the Rajput clans during the mediaeval period.[57]

Although upward mobility took place usually at group level, it was possible, though rather difficult, for an ambitious and wealthy individual family to cut itself off gradually from the low social group to which it belonged and move into a higher category. The theory of *jātyutkarsha* accepted in the *Smṛitis* envisages the possibility of a family to rise to a higher *varṇa* by giving its daughters in marriage to boys of a higher *varṇa* for seven consecutive generations.[58]

The reason why a majority of aspiring groups ready to take a leap into a higher social order aimed for the Kshatriya *varṇa* might be that the Kshatriya style of life demanded less rigour and discipline. The self-denial and maintenance of a lengthy set of rituals for purity expected of the Brāhmaṇas or the thrifty shrewdness of the commercial folk were not very appealing models to follow.[59] Compared to these the Kshatriya *varṇa* allowed a larger amount of freedom in which the aspiring group could retain a great many of its old

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customs uncompromised it allowed non-vegeterian food habit, the drinking of liquors and a more liberal attitude towards sex. Moreover, as has already been pointed out the king being the guardian of the society, the achieving of the political power was an obvious strategy for an aspiring group and the Kshatriya model was a natural choice.

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2. Ghurye, G. S., *Caste and Class in India*, Bombay, 1950, p. 57.
3. The idea has been given a very subtle expression by David G. Mandelbaum who has divided his work *Society in India* into 2 vols. entitled 'Continuity and Change' and 'Change and Continuity', Indian Edition, Bombay, 1972.
4. Kosambi, D. D., 'Early Stages of Caste System in Northern India' in *JBBRAS*, New Series, XXII, 1946; 'The Basis of Ancient Indian History' *JAOS*, LXXV, no. 1, January-March 1955; *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, Bombay, 1956, pp. 7-8, 25. etc.
5. A variety of factors contributed to the origin of caste system and these have been emphasised by such scholars as Nesfield, Risley, Dahlmann, Ibbetson, Ketkar, Ghurye, S. C. Roy, etc. Hutton has summarised and discussed these views, Hutton, J. H., *Caste in India*, Bombay, 1963, Chapter. IX.
6. The earliest statement of the *varṇa* theory found in the *purushasūkta*, *Ṛigveda*, x.90.12. remained the model for all later day Hindu theories of social differentiations, *Manu.* I. 31, 87; *Mahābhārata*, XII 285.1-9. Attention has been drawn to a parallel concept of social divisions in ancient Iran, Senart, E., *Caste in India*, Eng. tr. E D. Ross. London, 1930, pp. 109-19; Dutt, N K., *The Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, London, 1931, pp. 37 ff. However, already by the period of the *Dharmaśāstras* a distinction appears to have been made between the *varṇa* and *jati* Senart, *op. cit.*, pt. II & III, passim.
7. The concepts of *varṇasaṁkara*, *antyaja*, *vrātya*, etc., developed out of an awareness of the inadequacy of the *varṇa* theory.
8. The validity of *varṇa* is being increasingly questioned, mainly by the modern sociologists working on field date, Karve, I., *Kinship Organisation in India*, Bombay, 1965, p. 5ff; Srinivas, M. N., *Caste in Modern India*, Bombay, 1964, p. 63ff; Dumont, Louis, *Homo Hierarchicus*, Eng. tr. London, 1972, pp. 112ff. This has also been followed by some authors working on ancient Indian society as well For example, Jaimal Rai has completely ignored the *varṇa* divisions in his work, Rai, Jaimal, *op.cit.*
9. "By one's own action one becomes a Brāhmaṇa, or a Kshatriya, or a Vaiśya, or a Śūdra.", *Uttarādhyāyanasūtra*, XXV. 33; cf *Dhammapada*, chap. XXVI In a spirit of resentment melting into resignation the *Suttanipāta* (III. 9.56) wrote: 'Adhered for

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a long time are the views of the ignorant, the ignorant tells us, one is Brāhmaṇa by birth." In face of these evidences, the opinion of Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*, 6th ed., Calcutta, 1955, pp. 38-39) that *varṇa* and caste divisions were unknown during the time of the Buddha, cannot be maintained.

10. Ghurye, G S., *Caste Class and Occupation*, Bombay, 1961, pp. 48, 64; Karve, I., *Hindu Society An Interpretation*, Poona, 1961, pp. 11-12, 16, 19, 28-29; Mayer, A.C , *Caste and Kinship in Central India : A Village and its Region*, London, 1960, pp. 3, 151; Dumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-03.
11. Srinivas, M.N., *Social Changes in Modern India*, New Delhi, 1972, p. 7.
12. During the post-Vedic period perhaps the priestly section of the Nishāda tribe came to be recognised as Brāhmaṇas, for we find reference to a *Nishādagotra* in the *Gaṇapāṭha* of Pāṇini, IV. 1. 100; Kosambi, 'The Basis of Ancient Indian History' *JAOS*, LXXV, no. 1, p. 44.
13. *Manu.*, VIII. 267-68; *Yaj* , II. 125, 206-7; Ghoshal, U.N., *A History of Indian Political Ideas*, Madras, 1966, pp. 58ff, 184ff, 240ff, 321ff, 431ff, 513ff. Not only the *Smṛiti*, literature, but even the non-legal literature shows the *varṇa* prejudices influencing the legal life, Sternbach, L., *Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law*, pts. I & II, Varanasi, 1965-67, passim. Derrett, J.D.M., ('Law and Social Order in India Before the Mohammadan Conquests', *JESHO*, vol. VII, 1964, pp. 73-120), however, shows the discrepancies between the Śāstric prescriptions and actual practice relating to law and *varṇa* divisions.
14. See above note no. 8.
15. Agrawal, V. S., *India as Known to Pāṇini*, Lucknow, 1953, pp. 78, 439-42.
16. *Manu.* x. 20-23.
17. After discussing all the discrepancies between the scriptural *varṇa* plan and the social realities Mandelbaum writes : "To an Indian villager, however, these gaps in the folk theory are of far less consequence than the uses of that theory. With it he can sort out the principal parts of society and can readily place an unfamiliar jāti within the general scheme. It provides the summary evaluation of jati rank...
The *varṇa* scheme corresponds well enough to most villager's social experience... That usually fits with what he finds in his own village; jātis of the Brahmin category are commonly in the topmost bracket of the ritual hierarchy, even though men of local Brahmin jati may be neither scholars nor priests. It does not worry him that a jāti claiming to be Kshatriya may seem to be more farmer than warrior...", Mandelbaum, *op. cit* , p. 24. In his study of Ramkheri village in Madhya Pradesh Mayer found the *varṇa* classification "as the best assessment of a caste's various rankings", Mayer, A. C., 'Some Hierarchical Aspects of Caste', *South Western Journal of Anthropology*, 12, 1956, p. 138.
18. *Ṛigveda*, x. 53.4.
19. The term Nishādas during the Vedic period probably stood for all non-Aryan tribes in general rather than for any particular tribe, Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, Delhi, 1967, I, p. 453; Law, B.C., *Tribes in Ancient India*, Poona, 1943, p. 98; Kosambi, D.D., *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India, in Historical Outline*, London, 1965, p. 86.

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20. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, 33.6.
21. Mnny of the aboriginal tribes were accepted into the society as mixed castes and Antyajas but such terms as *vāhirīka*, *vāhya*, etc., were still used for them, Manu. x. 28, 29, 45, 50; *Arthśāstra*, 2. 4. 32; Kangle, R. P., *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, pt. III, Bombay, 1965, pp. 149-50.
22. Toynbee, A. J., *A Study of History*, Oxford University Press, 1946, vol. I, p. 41. Vol.V. pp. 63, 157.
23. *Manu.*, Xth Chapter.
24. See the case of the Nishādagotra, above note no. 12; cf Jha, V., 'From Tribe to Untouchable' The Case of Niṣādas' in *Indian Society : Historical Probings*, ed. R.S. Sharma, pp. 71-72. The Śakas, described as degraded Kshatriyas in the *Manusmṛiti* (x. 44) claimed full Kshatriyas status in their own inscriptions (*EI*, VIII) and appear to have been recognised as such by the Āndhra-Śātavāhanas. Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi's claim that he crushed down the pride and the conceit of the Kshatriyas probably refers to his victory over the Kshaharāṭas, Raychoudhury, H.C., *Political History of Ancient India*, (6th ed., Calcutta, 1953, pp. 489-92). Similarly, a section of the Huṇas succeded in acquiring Kshatriya status during the mediaeval period, Yadava, B. N. S., *Society and Culture in Northern India iu the Twelfth Century*, Allahabad, 1973, pp. 36. 57.
25. For economic progress from the post-Vedic period onwards see Bose, A.N., *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India*, vol. I & II, Calcutta, 1961, 1945; Ghoshal, U.N., *A History of Indian Public Life*, vol. II, Bombay, 1966; Adhya, G.L., *Early Indian Eeonomics*, New Delhi, 1966; Das, Deepak Ranjan, *Economic History of the Deccan* Delhi, 1971, etc.
26. Describing the evils of the Kali age the *Visnupurāṇa* writes : "Then property alone will confer rank; wealth will be the only source of devotion...Earth will be venerated but for its mineral treasure", Wilson, H.H., *Visnupurāṇa*, Eng. tr., Calcutta, 1961, p. 388; cf., *Matsyapurāṇa*, 273. 25-48. Lamenting the loss of his wealth the hero in Bhāsa's *Chārudatta* says, "In truth my trouble does not come from the loss of riches, for they can come again with a turn of fortune. This it torments me now that I have lost my wealth my friends become indifferent to a man that's merely good. Again, if a man be poor his kinsmen reck nothing of his words. His magnanimity becomes ridiculous. The beauty of a moon of virtue is dimmed. Without enmity friends are estranged. Calamities abound. The evil deeds that others do are put upon his head." Elsewhere in the same play the burglar about to commit theft reflects : "As for a merchant, greedy and rich, despising honest folk, ruthless in his business, if I get hold of his house my mind is not overpowered with remorse." *Chārudatta*, I. 5-6, III. 7, tr. Woolner, A.C. and Lakshman Sarup, *Plays attributed to Bhāsa*, London, 1930.
27. The ideal set before the Brāhmaṇas was the ideal of plain living and high thinking, *Manu.*, IV. 171, 175; 187, 247-48; cf., *Dhammapada*, 409; *Suttanipāta*, III. 9.40, etc. Yet a large section of Brāhmaṇas adopted a number of such professions which brought them both wealth and power, *Jātakas*, II. 272, III. 39, IV. 237, 325, etc.

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These wealthy Brāhmaṇas aroused a sense of anger and contempt, perhaps tinged with some feeling of envy also, in the ordinary Brāhmaṇas. "... those who are full of anger and pride, who kill, lie, steal and own property are Brāhmaṇas without pure birth and knowledge..." writes the *Uttarādhyyanasūtra*, XIIth Lecture, 3-19. The reward seeking and devala Brāmaṇas were severely censured, *Manu.*, IV. 190-97; *Yaj.*, I. 202; *Manu.*, III. 152. To serve under a king was considered a filthy sin at least by a few Brāhmaṇs, Manu., III. 64, 153, IV. 184-85; Negi, J. S , *Some Indological Studies*, Allahabad, 1966, p. 96ff; cf., Derrett, J. D. M., *Religion Law and State in India*, London, 1968, p. 125. Already by the time of the Buddha a section of the Kshatriyas, particularly in the republican states, grew into wealthy landholders. For example, in the city of Vaiśāli there were 7707 *rāja* and the same number of *uparāja*, *senāpati*, and *bhāndagārika*, *Jātaka* (Fausboll), I, pp. 504 sq; cf., *Lalitavistāra*, 15. 14-16; Law, B. C., *Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1924, p. 91; Ghoshal, U.N., *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 360ff; Ruben, W., 'Some Problems of Ancient Indian Republics' in *Kunwar Mohammad Ashraf*, ed. Horst Kruger, Delhi, 1969, pp. 5-29. After the beginning of the *sāmanta* system there was a further growth of the Kshatriya landholders, Yadava, *op. cit*, chapter 3. Even the Kshatriyas in the army very well off, see, for example, salaries of different grade of state officials detailed in the *Arthaśāstra* 5.3; Law, N. N., *IHQ* V, 1929, p. 780 ff; cf., McCrindle, J. W., *Ancient India as Described by Megasthens and Arrian*, Calcutta, 1926, pp. 32, 84, 216. Merchant princes of the Vaiśya *Varṇa* were proverbially wealthy, *Jātaka*, I, 365, 412, 413, 441, IV, 473, 484 VI, 463, etc.; *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 13.54-194, 57.54-175 etc.; cf., VanBuitenen, J. A. B., *Tales of Ancient India* University of Chicago Press. 1959 p. 65 ff. etc. In contrast to these there such poor Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas, who eked out a very poor existence through labour, service and charity, *Jatāka*, IV, 159, *Mauu.* VIII, 111, III. 112.

28 The economic division of the society and its implications are given expression in the *Vinaya* which states that the life of the poor is evil compared to the life of the rich, the life of the unwealthy is evil compared to the life of the wealthy; *Vinaya*, III, p,73. The *Aṅgavijjā* at one place divided the society into two categories *ajja* (arya) and *pessa*(labourer), *Aṅgavijjā*, ed. Muni Punyavijayaji, Varanasi, 1957, p.218. Similarly, the Pali literature also divided the society into two classes, upper and lower (*ukkaṭhhajāti*, *hinajāti*), cited by Thapar, R., 'Social Mobility in Ancient India in *Indian Society : Historical Probings*, ed. R. S. Sharma, p. 104.

29. "Inherited from the father and grandfather, constant, obedient,...consisting mostly of Kshatriyas—these are the excellences of an army", *Arthaśāstra*, 6.1.11, Kangle's traslation. There is no doubt that people other than Kshatriyas also joined army, but it can be safely concluded that Kshatriyas dominated the most important divisions of the army, Dikshitar, V.R.R., *War in Ancient India*, Madras, 1948, section IX; cf., Kangle, R. P., *Kauṭiliya Arthaśāstra*, part. III, p. 245. Examination of *amahcchas* in Buddhist works show that they were mostly Kshatriyas, Mehta, R.N., *Pre-Buddhist India*, Bombay, 1939, p. 136. Probably the state council also was sometimes dominated by the Kshatriyas, Law, N. N., *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, Calcutta, 1961 p. 27; Spellman J. W., *Political Theory of Ancient India* Oxford, 1961, pp. 85-86.

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30. The attitude of the members of thesethree upper *varṇas* can be succintly summed up in the words of Manu : "The seniority of Brāhmaṇas is from (sacred) knowledge, that of Kshatriya from valour, that of Vaiśya from wealth in grain (and other goods), ..." *Manu*, II. 155.

31. As a result of the growth of landlordism from the post-Vedic period onwards a number of Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas became big landholders, see above note no. 27: cf, Rai, Jaimal, *The Rural-Urban Economy and Social Changes in Ancient India*, p. 14 ff; Sharma, R. S., *Indian Feudalism*, Calcutta 1965, and his *Social Changes in Early Mediaeval India*, Delhi, 1969; Yadava, *op. cit.*, pp. 136ff, 284-85,

Another area in which the elite sought special privileges was in the matter of taxation Both the Brāhmaṇas and the nobility claimed exemptions from various taxes, *Manu*, VII. 133. VIII, 394; *Arthaśāstra*, 2.1.7, 3.10.9; *Vaśiṣtha Dharmasūtra*, I. 42ff ; *Milindapañha*, ed. Trenckner, p 146; Bose, A. N., *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 176-77; Sharma, R. S, in *Studies in Cultural History of India*, ed. Guy. S. Metraux and Francois Courzet, Agra, 1965, p. 37; Gopal, Lallanji, *The Economic Life of Northern India c. A.D. 700-1200*, Delhi, 1965, p.

Although the Vaiśyas were not exempted from taxation, the burden of taxes on the traders, especially on the big traders, was smaller than on the agriculturists and small traders. While the tax on agriculture was ¼ to 1/10th of the total produce, besides water cess and other agricultural levies, that tax on trade was 1/10th to 1/20th of the profit, *Gautam.*, x. 24, 26, 35 ; *Baudhāyana.*, 1.10 11-15; *Manu*, VII. 130, VIII. 398; *Arthaśāstra* 5.2.2,14; *Vishnu.*, III. 29-30, etc. From Kauṭilya (5.2.17-28) it appears that big traders paid proportionately lower taxes than the small traders. In other words, the scale of taxation was regressive. The point has been elaborated by the present author in his D. Phil thesis (to be shortly published) *Some Aspectsof Society in Northern India from 2nd Century B. C. to 4th Century A. D.*, Allahabad University, 1972, note, 151, Chapter. IV.

32. The concepts of *apatkāla, kalivarjya*, etc. are examples of the way how *varṇa* theory was stretched to meet the demands of exigencies.

33. Max Weber, *The theory of Social and Economic Organisation*, tr., A.H. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, Glencoe, III, The Free Press, 1947, Chapter. I, Sections. 9-17.

34. See above note. 27.

35. For example, in the *Samuddavanija Jātaka* master carpenters are referred to and who were at the head of 500 carpenter families and who transacted business on behalf of the carpenter unions which they headed, *Jātaka*, IV, no. 466. Similarly, in abother *Jātaka* story the king is found engaging a master carpenter for building a very big hall and advancing money to him for the same. Obviously, the master carpenter accepted the assigment on behalf of his union, *Jātaka*, VI, no. 546.

36. In a few exceptional cases some extraordinarily influential Śūdras might have played social roles that extended beyond the confines of their own *varṇa*, Manu (VIII. 20), for example, speaks of Śūdras dispensing justice. During Mediaeval period we find some well-to-do Śūdras taking part in the management of temples and becoming

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members of the watch and ward committees of towns. A potter was even appointed a local governor by a king, Yadava, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

37. *Lüders List* no 1121 refers to a *gahapati* who was the son of a *hālakiya* or ploughman. *Gahapati*, it appears, did not mean simply a householder but a big merchant like a *seṭṭhi* or a *sārthavāha*, see the authors forthcoming article 'Meaning and significance of the gahapati' in *Archiv Orientalani.*

38. *Saddharmapundarīka.* Chapter IV, SBE, XXI, p. 101; Bhattachary, S., 'Rise of the Vaiśyas,' *South Asian Review*, Vol. 7, No. 1, October 1973, pp. 51-52.

39. Yadava, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 174, 285.

40. See Bhāsa's *Chārudatta* and Śūdraka's *Mṛichchhakaṭika.* It is interesting that the Brāhmaṇa Chārudatta, the hero of these plays, was a prominent citizen of Ujjayinī. well known and respected, while his friend Maitraka, even though he was a learned Brāhmaṇa, was a commoner. Obviously it was Chārudatta's status as a wealthy merchant which made all the difference. It proves that *varṇa* rank alone was not enough for a high social position.

41. One can understand the Brāhmaṇical prejudice against Śūdras acquiring political power, but even the Buddhists and the Greeks noted the base origin of the Nandas. *The age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, ed. K. A. N. Sastri, Varanasi, 1952, p. 11ff; Mookerji, R.K. *Chandrgupta Maurya and His Times*, Madras, 1943, pp. 6-8.

42. Risley, H H., *The People of India*, Delhi, 1969 (reprint), pp. 119 f.

43. *Manu*, VIII. 418; *Arthaśastra*, 1.3. 4-17; Aiyangar, K.V.R., *Rājadharma*, Adyar, 1941, p. 23; Ghoshal, U.N., *A History of Indian Political Ideas*, pp. 50, 163-71, etc. For an enlightening study of the religious aspects of the kingly duties see Gonda, J., 'Ancient Indian Kingship from Religious point of View', *Nuemen*, IV, 1956.

44. For the concept of Sanskritisation see Srinivas, M.N., *Caste in Modern India*, p. 42 ff; *Social Change in Modern India*, pp. 1-45. For criticisms of some aspects of Srinivas' concept see Dumont, *op. cit*, pp. 238-39, 368-69; Mandelbaum, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 ff.

45. See above note no. 24. 46. SBE, XXXVI, p. 206.

47. See the very interesting lists of the Rajput clans cited by Yadava, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

48. One of the most famous instances is offered by the story of Viśvāmitra's acquiring Brāhmaṇa hood. Similarly, the Maga- Śakadvīpi Brāhmaṇas illustrate the way how the priestly section of an alien tribe could be integrated into the Brāhmaṇa *varṇa*, Srivastava, V.C., *Sun Worship in Ancient India*, Allahabad, 1972, p. 241 ff; Thapar, R., *op. cit.*, pp. 108-10.

49. Kosambi, D.D., *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline*, London, 1965, p. 80.

50. It has been observed by Mrs. Karve that even the untouchables in their attempts to raise their ranks do not try to get a berth among the Śūdras, they aim for one of the twice-born categories, normally Kshatriya category, Karve, I., *Hindu Society : An Interpretation*, Poona. 1961, p. 47. It appears that things were not much different during the earlier periods. The caste vanity and the fabrication of high social origin that charecterised the Kshatriya aristocracy during the mediaeval period drew sarcastic comments from Kshemendra, *Darpadalana*, *Kavyamala*, pt. IV, pp. 61 f.

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51. Maudelbaum, *op. cit*, p. 451.
52. How mobility aspirations of a social group is opposed by other groups see Srinivas, M.N., *Social Changes in Modern India*, p. 92, cf., Mandelbaum, *op. cit*, pp. 427 ff.
53. Agrawal, V.S., *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 78.
54. *Manu.*, x. 44.
55. Sircar, D.C., in *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. R.C. Majumdar, Bombay, 1951, p.221.
56. *Manu.*, x. 15. 57. Yadava, *op. cit*, p. 37.
58. *Manu.*, x. 64-65; *Yāj.*, I. 96. Marriage of girls into higher castes is used even now by ambitious families as mobility tactics, Mandelbaum, *op. cit.*, pp. 439-40, 472-73.
59. Aversion of the tribal people to trade and commerce and to the Hindu concept of asceticism has been noted by a number of anthropologists, Sinha, Surajit, 'Tribal Cultures of Peninsular India as a Dimension of Little Tradition in the Study of Indian Civilization : a preliminary Statement', *Journal of American Folklore*, 71, 1958, pp. 509-12; Orans, Martin, *The Santal : a Tribe in search of a Great Tradition*, Detriot, 1965, pp. 40-41.

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ECONOMIC CHANGES IN EARLY-MEDIEVAL INDIA
(c. A. D. 600-1200)

VIJAY KUMAR THAKUR

The most important change that took place in early medieval India was the formation of feudal institutions.[1] The origins of this new development are traced to the land-grants of pre-Gupta period, which manifested itself from the Gupta, and especially from the post-Gupta period onwards.[2] The impetus to this new development came from the large-scale transfer of land revenues and land to both secular and religious elements by princes and their vassels. The administrative rights over land were given up for the first time in the grants made to the Buddhist monks by the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī in 2nd century A. D.[3] From the 5th century A. D. onwards, the ruler even gave up his control over all sources of revenue accruing from the granted land.[4] Control over mines, which formed an important sign of the King's sovereignty[5], were also transferred to the donee.[6] Gradually, the right to govern the inhabitants of the granted villages was also abandoned by the ruler.[7] This process reached its logical culmination when in later times the King made over to the Brāhmaṇa even the right to punish all offences against family, property, person etc.[8] Armed with these powers, it would have been rather easy for the donees to turn their benefices into practically independent pockets.[9] The land grants naturally led to the growth of powerful intermediaries weilding considerable economic and political power. These new developments, in their turn, unleashed a number of changes in the economic life of the early medieval India.

The large scale transfers of land revenues and land to both secular and religious elements led to the growth of many fiscal and administrative islands existing by themselves.[10] Whenever a village was granted its residents, which naturally included artisans; were asked to carry out the order of beneficiaries. This would have been possible only when they stayed to their respective villages. Two forged charters of the 7th century A. D., ascribed to Samudragupta, prohibit tax-paying peasants and artisans from leaving their own villages and settling in tax-free villages.[11] Certain Chandella grants refer to some categories of artisans who were transferred alongwith the land.[12] Numerous

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instances of artisans being made over to temples are forthcoming from the Deccan and South India.[13] On the coastal areas of the western Deccan they were also made over to the guilds of merchants.[14] Probably, similar was the fate of the merchants. Though we have no clear evidence of the transfer of merchants to benefices but a few charters of the 6th-8th centuries from the western Deccan prohibit the merchants to congregate in the same market in the city[15], which points towards the localisation of traders.[16] That the peasants were tied down to the soil is abundantly clear from a number of inscriptions belonging to the various parts of India.[17]

The attachment of peasants, artisans and merchants to their respective habitations fostered a closed economy and gave rise to local units of production. It is significant to note that in his laws of partition Jimūtavāhana is not concerned with liquid resources, he treats property as consisting only of land and gold.[18] This change in the general attitude can also be noticed from the fact that in many inscriptions of the period the endowments are made even in important commercial cities not in the form of coins but in the form of land, buildings and shops.[19] In fact, the feudal character of Indian economy in this period was such that commodities to meet local needs were produced locally.[20] The strong sense of localism and the new economic factors that it unleashed led to the decline of internal trade.[21] This decline is also attested to by another evidence. Mithila in North Bihar was touched by eight trade routes in ancient times : (i) Mithila-Rajagriha, (ii) Mithila-Sravasti, (iii) Mithila-Kapila-vastu, (iv) Videha-Pushkalavati, (v) Mithila-Pratishṭhana, (vi) Mithila-Sindhu, (vii) Mithila-Champa, and (viii) Mithila-Tamralipti.[22] From the dirction of these routes their actual number may be reduced to three or four, but even so it is significant that not a single reference to them is of the early medieval period[23], perhaps suggesting that they had become defunct by that time. And we can surmise that the trade routes were declining because the trade was itself on the decline. This new tendency in economic life was further internal strenghthened by the decline of foreign trade in this period.

The Indian foreign trade witnessed its climax for 100 years or so in the first and second centuries when India exported a number of luxurious articles to the eastern part of the Roman empire.[24] The silk trade of India with the Byzantine continued till the middle of the 6th century A. D.[25] But once the Byzantinians learnt from the Chinese the art of growing silk, they no longer needed to export the same from India or China.[26] The coastal people of Southern India, no doubt, carried on trade with the countries of South East

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Asia[27] and China[28] but this did not seriously affect the general economic pattern of the interior of the country. This overall decline of trade weakened the economic links between the coastal towns and the interior towns as well as between towns and villages[29] and this may be another setback for the already languishing internal trade.[30]

The decrease in the importance of trade and commerce is also indicated by a lowering of the status of merchants and traders. No doubt, there were big business magnates resembling powerful rulers in Gujrat and Rajputana[31] but the average Vaiśya found his status comparatively lowared in a society which was dominated by landed aristocracy. Niharranjan Ray draws attention to a significant passage in this connection. In the reign of Laksmanasena in connection with the unfurling ceremony of the trader's banner, called Sakradhvaja, a writer says, "O Sakradhvaja. Where are the traders who once held you aloft. The people now are trying to use you as plough or animal-post."[32] This passage clearly indicates the decline and even total collapse of the commercial class in this period. If Alberuni is to be believed,[33] then it seems that the lower section of the business community came to be gradually bracketed with the Śūdras. The artisan class also had a similar fate in store. Thus, whereas in earlier times the various crafts and industries were ordained for the Śūdras[34] in the early medieval period the artisan class was despised.[35] It is to be noted that in feudal societies of Japan, China and Europe also artisans occupied a very low status.

Commercial decline in this period is also attested by the paucity of coins.[36] One of the main functions of currency is exchange and a reversal in this period of the tendency of the use of coins in earlier periods naturally indicates that coins did not have any purpose to serve in our period. It is significant that after the Guptas no gold coin appears to have been issued for over 450 years. The Indo-Sassanian coins are not known to have been struck in gold. Neither can we attribute with confidence any series of coins to the Palas, the Gurjara-Pratihāras and the Rashṭrakūṭas, who ruled continuously for three centuries or more over the whole of the country except the deep south. Even the coins issued by Harshavardhana are too meagre.[37] The Śāhī kings issued only silver and copper coins.[38] The coins of Kashmir also seem to lose originality. The solitary exception being the gold and silver coins struck by Harsha (A. D. 1089-1101).[39] Gold coins in northern India were first struck, after the Guptas, by Gāṇgeyadeva, the Kalachuri King of Tripuri. Though his gold coins are not scarce,[40] but his successors almost discontinued the issue of

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coins.[41] As compared to these kings the gold coins of king Govindachandra of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty are really abundant though they are extremely debased.[42] Considering the area and time covered by them these gold coins are extremely meagre in number.

Similar is the case with the silver coins of this period. Some kings and dynasties resorted to heavily debased silver coins, while the others did not issue even a single coin. In Kashmir the only king to issue silver coins was Harsha while the Indo-Sassanian silver coins are so rare that it is difficult to be sure whether they were meant to be circulated as silver coins or copper coins.[43] The Śāhī kings of Ohind issued both the silver and copper coins. The analysis of one of these silver coins reveals that it contains 894.6/1000 silver, the balance being copper, with a trace of gold.[44] In the case of the Kalachuris of Tripuri as well as Ratnapura and the Chandellas, their gold coins are generally so largely alloyed with silver that they can be hardly distinguished from silver coins and hence it is probable that the coins which appear to have been of silver were officially intended as gold coins.[45] Hence V. A. Smith rightly doubts if the Kalachuris either of Tripuri or of Ratnapura or the Chandellas issued a silver currency.[46] There is however one exception; there are three silver coins attributed to the Kalachuris of Ratnapura all belonging to the reign of Pṛithvīdeva.[47] Even the bull and horsemen coins issued by Tomaras, the Gāhaḍavālas, the Chāhamānas, the kings of Marwar and other unidentified Rajput kings are limited in number and are of highly debased silver or of bullion.[48]

In fact, it seems that in early medieval period coins were being replaced by cowries.[49] A. K. Majumdar holds that the mention of cowries does not necessarily imply that the shells were actually in use as a medium of exchange and that for the sake of convenience in calculation the coins of higher denominations were converted into cowries.[50] But the doubt is not well-founded for a number of foreign travellers and writers explicitly mention that Indians were using cowries as a medium of exchange.[51] Moreover, the discovery of a treasure trove from Bhaundri village in Lucknow district containing, besides the coins of a Pratihāra king Vināyakapāla, 9834 cowries[52] sets aside all doubts on the subject.

The above survey makes it clear that there was a general paucity of coins in this period which was probably a direct outcome of the feudalisation of state structure and the decline of trade in this period.[53] The gold coins

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which were used for higher transactions were no longer needed either for foreign trade (where larger transactions were the order of the day) or for rewarding or remunerating important functionaries of the state (land grants solved this problem). Similarly, due to the decline in internal trade, coins of smaller denominations were also no longer in great demand[54] and for exchange purposes barter and use of cowries became the order of the day.[55]

Another important development of the early Medieval India, which in its turns attests the languishing trade in this period, is the decline of urban centres. From a number of recent studies it clearly emerges that the economic basis of the early urban centres of the Ganga basin was an agricultural surplus generated by the introduction of iron technology[56] and by the gradual crystallisation of a power structure which ensured the production of surplus.[57] A certain amount of commercialisation of this surplus was necessiated by the presence of specialised labour and of surplus appropriating social groups which were not necessarily confined to the monarch, his king and his officials. Viewed from this perspective, it would seem that trade and a power structure which needs it, and in turn promotes it, are essential factors in urban growth and we know it for sure that trade was languishing and feudalisation of political structure had undermined the central authority in this period and hence, even if viewed from a theoretical perspective the decline of urban centres in our period seems quite logical.

In fact, the urban centres which flourished in wester and northern India in the kingdoms of the Sātavāhanas and the Kushāṇas decayed. The towns which were active centres of crafts and commerce in the Sātavāhana dominions began to decay from the 4th century A.D.[58] In northern India the post-Gupta period witnessed the decline of urban centres of the Ganga basin.[59] Excavations show that Vaiśālī, Pāṭaliputra[60], Chirānd, Rājghat, Kauśāmbī, Śrāvastī, Hastināpura, Mathurā, Purānā Qilā, and several north Indian towns which generally thrived in the Kushāṇa age, began to decline from the Gupta period and mostly disappeared in post-Gupta times.[61]

Besides these momentous developments, a few comparatively minor, though significant, changes can also be noticed in the economic life of the early medieval period. There is a clear sign of relative dependence on land and agriculture in preference to trade, commerce and industry. This situation is borne out by a study of the sources of revenue of that period. Almost all the sources were connected with land.[62] In fact there was a general increase in taxation. Though in general the vassals were required to collect the dues and

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to pay tributes or periodical dues to their overlord, there is some evidence to indicate that the tax-collecting rights of the kings and their subordinate chiefs were not mutually exclusive and poor farmer had to pay separate dues to the latter.[63] The resulting burden on the taxation system can be realised from the fact that the records of the period indicate several grades of rulership and of sub-infeudation.[64]

Another important feature of this period is the inscreasing fragmentation of land.[65] The Kalaikuri copper-plate inscription of the Gupta year 121 (A. D. 400-01) mentions that even 9 Kulyavāpas of land had to be purchased from 5 villages.[66] This indicates the pressure on land which must have increased in the succeeding periods. This will seem to be very natural phenomenon especially if we keep in mind the decline of trade and urban centres in this period. Evidently on account of the decline of Indian exports, artisans and merchants living in towns flocked to the countryside and took to cultivation thereby increasing the pressure on land. Another factor which might have been responsible for the increasing pressure on land was the breaking up of the large joint families in this period. The earlier laws of inheritance, including those in the lawbook of Manu and even in that of Yājñavalkya, never refer to the partition of landed property, which is mentioned for the first time in the codes of Nārada[67] and Bṛihaspati.[68] This may suggest in the middle or towards the end of the Gupta period the large joint families, owning large stretches of land, began to break into smaller units. Once the principle of the partition of land was recognised, the increasing density of population in the fertile river valleys of Northern India, after the earlier phases of settlement, was bound to accelerate the pace of the fragmentation of arable plots of land.

A noticeable feature of this period is the colonisation of new areas through land grants. No doubt, we have literary evidence to this effect right from the pre-Mauryan times,[69] but it was from the Gupta period onwards that deliberate attempts were made to extend the cultivable land by means of grants. According to an inscription of Samāchāradeva from Bengal (second half of the 6th century A. D.), Brāhmaṇa was granted virgin land.[70] Similarly the Tippera Copper-plate grand of Lord Lokanātha (A. D. 650) provides an important indication of a policy of reclaiming forest areas for cultivation in Eastern India.[71] A somewhat similar process can be observed in some parts of Western India.[72] Records of this type are not numerous, but the existing ones broadly indicate the process of colonisation of barren and jungle areas

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through land grants to temples and Brāhmaṇas. This was an altogether new development with far-reaching consequences. This led to the absorption of tribal and backward peoples and their beliefs into Brāhmaṇical fold resulting into major changes in the religious sphere, giving birth to an altogeter new religion, Tantricism.[73]

References

1. The origins and even the existence of feudalism in the Indian context are a matter of great controversy among Indologists. For different views, cf. R. S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism* (1965); Idem, "Problem of Transition from Ancient to Medieval in Indian History", *The Indian Historical Review*, i, No. 1 (1974); pp. 1-9; D.C. Sircar, (ed.), *Land System and Feudalism in Ancient India* (1966); D.C. Sircar, *Landlordism and Tenancy in Ancient and Medieval India as revealed by Epigraphic Records* (1669); L.B. Alayeva, "Some Problems of Feudalism in the works of Indian Historians", *Narodi Asia-i-Afriki*, no. 4 (1964), pp. 175-83; E. M. Mendvedev, "Socio-Economic History of Ancient India", *Narodi Asia-i-Afrika* (1967), pp. 65-67; S. A. Q. Hussani, *The Economic History of India*, Vol. I (1962); L. Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India* (1965); R.K. Chaudhary, "Some Historical Aspects of Feudalism in Ancient India," *Journal of Indian History* (1959), pp. 305-06; *Ibid.* (1960), pp. 103-66; Idem, "Theory of Commendation and Subinfeudation in Ancient India", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (1962), pp. 115-20; D. D. Kosambi, *An Introduction to the study of Indian History*; *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* (1966), p. 265; *G.D. College Bulletin*, No. 4.
2. R. S. Sharma, "The Origins of Feudalism in India (c. A. D. 400-650)" *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. I, Pt. III, p. 327; Idem, *Indian Feudalism*, p. 1.
3. D.C Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilisation*, i (1942 , pp.192, 194-95.
4. *Ibid* , pp. 422, 11, 26-29. 5. Kālidāsa, *Raghuaṁśa*, XVII. 66.
6. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III (1929), no. 41, 1-8; D.C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 422, 1.29.
7. R.S. Sharma, "Politico-Legal Aspects of the Caste System", *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XXXIX, p. 325.
8. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, IV (1955), no. 31, 1.45.
9. R.S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, p. 4. 10. Cf. *Ibid.*, Chapter I.
11. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, no. 60, II, 12-13.
12. *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, no. 14, Plates, 1. 19.
13. *Ibid.*, III, no. 40; *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VII, Shikarpur Taluk, 20a.
14. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXX, no. 30, II. 8, 28.
15. *Ibid* , I. 6.
16. R.S. Sharma, *Social Changes in Early Medieval India* (1969), p. 4.
17. *Ibid.* 18. *Dāyabhāga*, p. 8. 19. *Epigraphia Indica*, XIX, pp. 588 ff.
20. The maritime activities of the early medieval period were totally confined to the coastal areas and the mainland, which had no share in it, was hardly affected.

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21. The oppressive taxes of the feudal lords (L. Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, pp. 250-53), the difficulties created for the merchants carrying on inter-state trade by the feudal chiefs who indulged in loot and plunder *(Ibid.*, pp. 102-103) and the feudal wars *(Ibid.* pp. 254-56) were also responsible for the decline of internal trade.
22. Md. Aquique, *Economic History of Mithila* (c. 600 B. C.—1097 A. D.) (1974), pp. 141-44.
23. B. D. Chattopadhyaya, "Trade and Urban Centres in Early Medieval North India," *The Indian Historical Review*, I, no. 2, p. 218.
24. S. K. Maity, *Economic Life in Northern India in the Gupta Period* (1970), p. 175. According to Pliny, "at the lowest reckoning one hundred million sesterces (about £800,000) are taken from us every year by India, the Seres and Arabia" (Cunningham *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 50).
25. Maity, *op. cit.*, pp. 176ff.
26. Richard Pankhurst, *An Introduction to the Economic History of Ethiopia* (1961), pp. 46-7 (Cited by R.S. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 2).
27. Maity, *op. cit.*, p. 175. 28. *Ibid.*, pp. 172-75. 29. R.S. Sharma, *op. cit*, p. 2.
30. Chattopadhyaya holds the opinion that decline in foreign trade may not necessarily imply a decline in internal trade *op. cit*, p. 214). But this statement is a very generalised one and does not seem to be correct in the present context in view of the above arguments.
31. L. Gopal, *Socio-Economic Implications of Feudalism in Northern India*, p. 17.
32. *Bangalir Itihasa* (Adi Parva) (1948), p. 343. 33. I, p. 101.
34. *Manusmṛiti*, X. 99-100; V.S. Agrawala, *Indian as Known to Panini* (1953), p. 78.
35. Al-Beruni, I, p. 101; Hemadri, *Chaturvarga Chintāmaṇi*, Prāyaśchitakhanda, p. 998.
36. Cf. L. Gopal, *Early Medieval Coin-Types of Northern India* (1966).
37. C.J. Brown, *Coins of India* (Mysore), p. 49.
38. A. Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India* (1894), pp. 72 ff; V.A. Smith, *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta (1906), Vol. I, pp. 246 ff.
39. A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
40. 22 gold coins from Azamgarh (*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XVII, p. 111); 3 gold coins (Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India, Report*, X, p. 25; *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, IV, p. CLXXXII).
41. Eight gold coins with the name of Gāṅgeyadeva found at Isurpur differ in fabric from his other coins and on this basis V.V. Mirashi suggests that these eight coins were issued not by Gāṅgeyadeva himself but by his son and successor Karṇa (*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, III, p. 26).
42. In 1887 some 800 of his gold coins were recovered from one single hoard in Baharaich district (V.A. Smith, *op. cit*, p. 257).
43. It has been suggested that the so-called copper pieces were originally silver plated and were meant to be used as silver coins (*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, X, p. 218). This is, however, going to the other extreme. There are undoubtedly many coins which can easily be recognised as honest copper pieces.
44. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1889), p. 198.

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45. L. Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, p. 220.
46. V.A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 252.
47. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, IV, p. CLXXXVII.
48. V.A. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-63.
49. L. Gopal, *Socio-Economic Implications of Feudalism in Northern India*, p. 3.
50. *Chalukyas of Gujrat* (1956), p. 272. 51. Cf. L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4.
52. *Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society*, XIX, p. 85.
53. D.C. Sircar thinks that there was neither dearth of coins nor absence of trade and commerce in this period. To support his theory he contends that numerous archaeological and literary records mention various coins of gold, silver and copper prevalent in those days. He argues that even the cowries were used as coined money in this period (*Landlordism and Tenancy in Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 33-34). But his arguments cannot be accepted because a mere reference to coins in contemporary records does not indicate their prevalence; it indicates that the people of this period had a theoretical knowledge of the coins. Similarly cowrie-shells cannot be accepted as performing the same function as a coin does; at the most, the former were being used in daily transactions (L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 4). Sircars argument regarding the prevalence of trade, both internal and external (*op. cit*, p. 35) even if accepted, does not warrant us to assume that its volume did not decrease.
54. For other probable reasons for paucity of coins in this period, cf. S.M. Devi, "Paucity of Coinage in North Eastern India," *Coins and Early Indian Economy* (Ed. A.M. Shastri) (1976), p. 136. Surprisingly, the rise of local units of production in this period does not draw her attention.
55. For details, cf. U. Thakur, *Mints and Minting in India*, Chap. I.
56. R.S. Sharma, *Light on Early Indian Society and Economy* (1966), pp. 57-59.
57. A Ghosh, *The City in Early Historical India* (1973), pp. 20-21.
58. R S. Sharma, "Problem of Transition from Ancient to Medieval in Indian History", *The Indian Historical Review*, I, no. 1, (1974), p. 5.
59. R S. Sharma, "Decay of Gangetic Towns in Gupta and post-Gupta times", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, (1972), pp. 92-101.
60. Pāṭaliputra has been mentioned as a victory camp of the Pālas, but excavations at Kumrahar have nothing to show from the 7th century A.D. to about the 16th century A.D. (A.S. Altekar and Vijayakanta Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations*, 1951-55, p. 20). 61. R.S. Sharma, *Loc. cit.*
62. Cf. L. Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, pp. 32-70.
63. *Dvyāśrayakāvya*, III. 2.
64. P. Peterson, *Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*.
65. R.S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, pp. 60-62.
66. B.C. Sen, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. XII.
67. XIII. 38. 68. XXVI. 10, 28, 43, 63 & 64.
69. *The Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya recommends large scale reclamation of virgin land partly through land grants but this never became an actual practice in the Mauryan times.
70. *Epigraphia Indica*, XVIII, p. 75. 71. *Ibid*, XV, no. 10, 11, pp. 33-50.
72. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarnm*, IV, no. 34.
73. For details, cf. my "Periodisation of Indian History : The Transition From Ancient to Medieval Time", *L.N. Mishra Commemoration Volume*, Bihar Research Society (to be published shortly).

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CREDIT TRANSACTION IN EARLY INDIAN LITERATURE

MD. AQUIQUE

The importance and the needs of Credit were realised by the people with the progress of trade and commerce. It has always been a fact that business could not be carried without money and no trader or industrialist, since times immemorial has ever been able to carry on trade or start manufacturing industries without suffcient capital which ultimately gave rise to the necessity of money-borrowing. We often find reference, to '*Ṛiṇa*' undoubtedly a loan, in the Vedic texts,[1] the law books,[2] and even in the *Arthaśāstra*[3] of Kauṭilya. The *Jatakas* have enough material to show that loans were quite fair in those days. Pāṇini mentions *Kusīda*[4] (usuary) and several terms associated with the money-lending, such as *uttamarna* (creditor) *adhamarna* (debtor), *ṛiṇa* (loan) and *vṛiddhi* (interest)[5] etc. Thus, it is apparent from the above that transaction of credit was fairly established in India by the post-Vedic times when business of the country was well on foot.

But it is important to note that in the beginning the transaction of credit was carried out not in terms of money but in terms of share profit', to to which we find a number of references in the *Jātakas.*[6] It also appears from the *Jātakas* that during this time, it became quite a common thing to shart a business by contacting loan and commodies on interest *(inamadiya)*[7]. The *Dīgha Nikāya* informs us about the *gahapatis*, who offered money as a loan for trade to those shopkeepers, who were shrewed, clever and resourceful.[8] According to Śukra, "One might advance money to one who intends to be merchant and not demanding the interest, he should make him carrying on trade with half the profits always".[9] From the *Śāntiparva* we know that the share for capital was very high ranging between 617 (85.7 per cent) and 15/16 (93.75 per cent) of the profit (60.24), and this rule, however, seems to apply only between a capitalist employer and a hired hawker contracted on a profit-sharing basis.[10]

There are references which show that the transaction of credit in business apart, were also carried out in cash and kind which were payable with interest.[11] Not only money but other necessaries of life, mostly agricultural commodities were also loaned. We may mention, for instance, gold and other

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precious metals like lead and tin, clothes, grains, vegetables fruits, pot-herbs, seeds, sugarcane, salt, oil, spirituous liquor, sugar, honey, cattle, wool and even slave-women were available for loan.[12]

The law-givers recognise various kinds of instrument and security for the contracts of loans. From the *Jātakas* we know that sometimes merchants transacted between themselves on credit without any security, but sometimes big deals were made on the credit of a signetring.[13] But later on loans were confirmed by means of a written bond or agreement[14], mortgage, a pledge, by a personal security of a surety etc. Sometimes loans were advanced openly without any security. Bṛihaspati says that a creditor should never lend money without having first secured a pledge of adequate value or a deposit, or a trustworthy security nor without a bond written by the debtor himself.[15] This practice continued even in much later period.

A pledge technically known as '*Bandha*' or *Adhi* is of four kinds viz., movable or immovable, to be kept only or to be used, to be released at any time, or limited, and it should be stated in writing or stipulated orally before witnesses.[16] These *Adhis* fall into two sub-heads, movable and immovable.[17] The *Mitākharā* says, "the giving of a pledge is well recognised among the people as a conditional cause of extinction of property and the acceptance of a pledge, a conditional cause of the acquisition of property so that after the debt has doubled or the stipulated time has arrived, the right to satisfy the debt ceased and the debtors rights is extinguished for ever and the creditor's ownership becomes absolute".[18]

Likewise the mortgage of the immovable property, in cases of pledge articles too, the creditor was entiled to interest the loaned money. If the pledge was not to be enjoyed and if it was to be used, he had the right only to receive back the principal and at the same time to hand over the pledges without any delay. In case of his unwillingness, he was to be fined twelve *paṇas*.[19]

Security was another method of granting loans. From Bṛihaspati and Nārada[20], we know that for four different purposes, viz., for appearance for payment and for delivering the assets of the debtor, sureties were ordained by the sages. The first of these implies that the surety promises to produce the debtor, who is likely to abscond; the second vouches for the honesty of the debtor, declaring that he is a virtuous man, who will not deceive the creditor; the third promises to pay the debt himself, together with the interest, if the debtor should fail to pay it; and the fourth agrees to deliver his movable property, such as house-hold furniture in the same case. But it has also been

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laid down by the law-givers that the surety must not be exclusively harassed, when a surety being harassed, pays a proved debt which he has vouched for, the debtor shall pay him twice as much after the lapse of a month and a half.[21]

Another method of granting loan was bond or agreement. Under this head all loans secured or unsecured had to be confirmed by means of a written bond or agreement of debt,[22] which the creditor had to present the debtor when asked for payment.[23]

Yet another method of granting loan was without any securities. It appears that such loans were advanced to friends, relatives and to persons or body reputed for their honesty.

A word may be added here regarding the valid and invalid documents. It appears that when a loan recorded in a bond is not expressly claimed from a debtor who has means enough to discharge it and is at hand, the bond loses its validity as the debt is presumed to have been paid by the debtor.[24] Further a writing which was neither seen nor read out for thirty years, should not be recognised as valid, even though, the subscribing witness be living.[25]

There are references in the literature and books regarding the contents of loan-deed which seem to be most important for credit transaction. In the Buddhist literature we find that loan-deeds were executed for loans taken by needy persons, of which two examples of actual execution are referred to in the *Jātakas.*[26] These loan-deeds during this period were called *inapanna* corresponding to the Sanskrit *ṛiṇapatra.* According to the law-writers, a loan-deed consists of (i) the name of the debtor, (ii) his father's name, (iii) caste, (iv) gotra, (v) residence, (vi) occupation, (vii) name of the creditor with the above requisite, (viii) amount of the loan, (ix) rate of interest, (x) condition of repayment, and (xi) time of payment. It was to be witnessed by a witness of respectable means and endorsed by the loan-deed writer as having written with the consent of the creditor-debtor.[27] If the loan was advanced on a mortgage or pledge, the fact was to be mentioned in the loan deed.[28] The *Dharmaśāstras* state that no loan should be given without the execution of a loan-deed.[29] Kauṭilya supports the view of the above law-givers on the point and makes a mention of the use of loan deed in transactions of borrowing and lending.[30]

We know from available sources that the rate of interest on general loan was usually followed in case of commercial loan also. But the prescribed rates, however, were not uniform. They varied from time to time and place to place. Pāṇini mentions a rate of interest in the expression *dasaikadasa*[31], the creditor

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who gets back *ekadasa* by lending[32] *dasa* and this amounts to the rate of about 10 per cent. He also refers to a much lower interest of half a *kārshāpaṇa* per month called *ardhya* or *bhāga.*[33] Moreover, it appears from the codes of the law-giver that normal and just rate of interest was $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent per month or 15 per cent per annum[34], and this was fixed for all secured loans, whether pledge of movable or immovable properties. Thus, Vasishṭha followed by Gautama says, "Here the rate of interest for a money-lender declared by the words of *Vasishṭha* is five masas for twenty (*Kārshapaṇas* may be taken every month); thus the law is not violated."[35] Haradatta also reckons 20 masas to the *kārshāpaṇas*, so that the rate of interest comes to $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent per month or 15 per cent per annum. In the same way Gautama declares, the legal interest for money lent is at the rate of five masas a month for twenty *kārshāpaṇas.*[36] This rate was approved by Bṛihaspati, Kauṭilya, and Manu also.[37] The later *Dharmaśāstra* writers from Yājñavalkya[38] and Nārada[39] to Vyāsa[40] all approved the same view. The difference being only that of the wordings i.e. instead of telling $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, they mention 1/80th of the principal on the secured loans per mensem.

On the other hand, the rate of interest for unsecured loans was much higher and were fixed according to caste basis as 2, 3, 4 or 5 per cent per month.[41] Kauṭilya fixes it to 60 per cent per annum.[42] Manu approved this rate in case of the Śūdras, but for other castes he would prescribe the rate in ascending order i.e., 48 per cent, 36 per cent and 24 per cent.[43] This rate was accepted by Vashisṭha also.[44]

It appears from the above rates that these normal rules were not applicable for certain special types of commercial transactions. Thus, Kauṭilya thinks that the interest on commercial loans was higher than the ordinary loans.[45]

There are certain cases where no interest can be taken. Interest on a short-term loan cannot be charged from a friend, unless there be an agreement for the purpose, but even without such an agreement, interest accrues on such loans after the lapse of half a year.[46] If such kind of loans were recalimed by the creditor and in that case debtor refuses to restore it on demand, it shall yield interest at the rate of five per cent per month.[47] Moreover, the law-givers have declared that no interest can be charged on grass, wood, bricks, thread, substance from which spirit may be extracted, leaves, bones, leathers, weapons, flowers and fruits.[48] Besides these, there were certain classes of persons who were exempted from interest on loans due by them, viz. "Interest on debts from persons who are engaged in sacrifices taking a long time, or who are

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suffering from diseases, or are detained in the house of their teachers, or who are either minors or too poor shall not accumulate."[49]

We also knew about the checks that were introduced by the law-givers on accumulation of debts. The earlier law-givers Gautama, Manu, and Kauṭilya suggest that interest was not to go beyond double the principal, if the interest was paid atonce.[50] Compound interest was objected.[51]

The debtor sometimes committed suicide out of embarassment.[52] The debt sometimes ran through the life of the borrower and was inherited by his heirs. Thus, a debt unlimited by time is bequeathed to sons, grandsons or lawful heirs or joint partners of debts.[53] Further, a debt contracted for the benefit of a united family must be discharged by the members even if they have separated afterwards.[54] A husband is responsible for his wife's borrowing, not a wife for her husband's, except in the case of herdsmen, hunters, dancers and washermen who live and earn with their wife.[55] Money due by a surety, a commercial debt, a bridal fee (*Śulka*), debts contracted for spirituous liquor or in gambling and a fine shall not involve the sons of the debtor.[56] For clearance of unpaid debt the heir of a surety for payment is liable, not of a surety for appearance.[57] There are also references which suggest that the creditor very often pressed the debtor for the payment of his money.[58]

Thus, from the elaborate rules and regulations as laid down by the law-givers, it can well be presumed that there was more indebtedness in Indian society since the very early time. The indebtedness may have developed as a natural corollary of prosperous trade, commerce and industry, for when trade is expanding debts are often more readily incurred than in a static economy.

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2. Cf. *JBORS*, Vol. VI, pp. 117ff.
3. *Arth.*, Vol. III, 2.
4. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, IV. 4, 31.
5. *India as known to Panini*, p. 274; Also cf. R. C. Dutt, *History of Civilization in Ancient India*, p. 62.
6. Cf. *Ja.*, VI. 69; IV. 256; V. 436.
7. Bose, *Social and Rural Economy*, p. 102.
8. *DN*, Vol. II, p. 69; Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
9. *Śukra*, IV-V. 630.
10. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Bṛi.* X. 17-18; *Nar.*; I. 107.
13. *Ja.* Vol. I, pp. 121, 227.
14. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 262; *Manu.*, VIII. 154.
15. *Bṛi.* X. 5.
16. *Bṛi.* X. 38-39.
17. For details see, *Manu*, VIII. 144. IV. 55-56.
18. Bhargava, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-98.
19. *Arth.*, III, xii; For details see, Bhargava, *op. cit*, pp. 88-98; *Nar.*, I. 125-30; *Vasishṭha*, xvi, 18; *Yaj.*, II. 90; *Bṛi.* XI. 17.

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20. *Bṛi.* X. 78-74; *Nar.* I. 118.
21. *Bṛi.* 82. 84; *Nar.*, I. 120-21. 22. *Manu.*, viii. 154; *Bṛi.* viii. II.
23. *Ja.* iv. 262; *Social and Rural Economy*, p. 104.
24. *Economic life of India in the Gupta Period*, p. 181.
52. *Ibid* ; For details see, *Bṛi.* x. 10; *Nar.*, I. 103; *Ibid.*, IV. 49; *Ibid.*, I. 140, 142-43, 145, 146; *Nar.*, I. 149-51, 158-59, 229-39; *Bṛi.*, v. 4-14, 16-17, 1, 19, 39, 40, 46; *Economic Life of India in the Gupta Period*, pp. 182-83.
26. *Ja*, i. 320; iv. 256.
27. *Śukra*, iii; *Yaj.*, ii. 28. *Ibid.* 29. *Ibid.*
30. *Arth.*, III. For details regarding interest etc. see, *Bṛi.* x. 9; x. 10; also *Jolly*, p. 321 fn. 6. (S B.E. 33); *Ibid.*, *Nar.* 1. 103; *Manu.*, viii. 153; *Bṛi.*, x. 9. 13-14; *Bṛi.*, x. 16.
31. *Aṣhṭādhyāyi.* iv. 4. 31. 32. *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 175.
33. *Aṣhṭādhyāyī*, v. i. 48-49.
34. *Manu.*, viii. 140; *Vas.*, II. 51; *Baudh.*, I. 5.10. 22; *Nar.*, I. 99; *Bṛi* , xi. 3; *Arth.*, III. 11.
35. *Vasishṭha*, II. 51. 36. *Gautama*, xii. 29.
37. *Arth.*, xi. 174. 221; *Manu.*, viii. 140. 38. *Yaj.*, II. 38.
39. *Nar.*, I. 99 40. Colebrooke's, *Miscellaneous Essays*, I. 20.
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43. *Manu.* viii. 142. 44. *Vasistha*, II. 48.
45. For details see, *Arth.* III. II. 4; *Manu.*, VIII. 157; *Yaj.* II. 38.
46. *Nar.*, I. 108. 47. *Ibid.*, 109. 48. *Bṛi.*, X. 23.
49. *Arth.*, III; *Manu.*, ix. 117.
50. *Gautama.*, XII. 30-31; *Manu.* VIII. 151; Bhargava, *op. cit.*
51. *Manu.* viii. 151-53; For other details see *Ibid.*, 154-55
52. Bhargava, *op. cit.*, p. 109. 53. *Arth.*, III. II; *Gautama*, xii. 40.
54. *Manu.* viii. 166; *Arth.*, III. II. Cf. VI. 36; *Nar.*, i. 13. 55. *Arth.* III. 11.
56. *Gautama*, xiii. 41. 57. *Manu.* viii. 159 f; vi. 41; *Bṛi*, x. 41.
58. See *Āpastamba*, I. 6. 18; *Ja.*, iii. p. 342; *Bṛi.*, 55; *Arth.*, III. 11.

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SOME COMMENTS ON ANĀTMAVĀDA IN EARLY BUDDHISM

N. S. S. RAMAN

I am very happy to contribute to the commemoration volume on the late Dr. D. D. Kosambi, and take this opportunity to express my highest regard for his great scholarship. Having in mind Dr. Kosambi's great contributions to the interpretation of Buddhist thought, I am presenting in this modest paper some of my comments on one of the basic problems of Buddhist thought, namely anātmavāda, the problem of the unreality of the self.

§ 1. The importance of the doctrine of the unreality of the self can be judged by a remark of one of the greatest Buddhist scholars, Stcherbatsky: "The No-soul theory is another name for Buddhism."[1] Others, who have devoted some attention to Buddhist thought are more or less of the same opinion. This doctrine along with that of 'momentariness' are the two feet on which the entire doctrine of Buddhism stands. Many Indian writers have ignored this, being pre-occupied with other schools of Indian thought, particularly the Vedānta. The Vedāntin is interested naturally in those ideas and doctrines in Buddhism, which have a relevance to his own type of thinking, and anātmavāda is certainly not one of them. The doctrine of the ātman is indeed the pivot on which the entire Vedānta philosophy rests. The tendency to see Buddhist thought in the light of Advaita owes its origin to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, but one of his illustrious students has his own way of looking at the similarity between Advaita and Buddhist thought with particular reference to the doctrine of the self :

> "All systems of Hindu thought subscribe to the Ātmavāda—the conception of reality as Being, substance and permanent. In its most radical form, as in the Vedānta of Śaṅkara, it denied the reality of change, and characterised it as appearance. The Buddhist schools rejected the reality of the soul or substance (Anātmavāda) and conceived the real as becoming.... For the Buddhists, the notions of soul, substance, universal and identity are thought-constructions, subjective. This constructive activity of thought however, is transcendental in character, not empirical."[2]

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The belief in the self like other metaphysical notions is a basically wrong notion, arising out of ignorance (avidyā) which is the root-cause of all suffering. Only if such beliefs are abandoned is liberation possible. However in the Vedānta it is said, the view about ignorance is just the reverse. Ignorance in the Vedānta philosophy is eliminated only if we know the universal and self-identical Ātman. Thus, says the Advaita-oriented thinker, the Ego is transcended both in Buddhism and the Vedānta :

> "in Buddhism this is done by denying it altogether; in the Advaita by universalizing and identifying it with God or Brahman."[3]

This to our mind is an over-simplification of the apparent similarity in both the trends of thought. Perhaps the Vedāntin should not be in a hurry to see the similarities, because what the Buddhist does throughout is to take an extreme anti-metaphysical stand. And this doctrine, the Anātmavāda, is only one of the many facets of the antimetaphysical stance taken by him.

It is pointed out by some that the original inspiration of the Buddha may have come from the Upanishads, where the empirical self, the ego, is rejected as having no status in reality. There are, we admit, even indications of the doctrine of momentariness in the Kaṭhopanishad. But the development of the Upanishadic view in early Buddhism (if we can take the liberty to characterize it as such), and that in the Advaita philosophy take different directions For one thing, Buddhist thought is out and out empiricistic, and draws the logical conclusions of a consistent empiricism. The Vedānta on the other hand is partly rationalistic and aims to supersede even reason by intuitive experience of the ultimate spiritual being (which is totally denied in Buddhism). Again, the Vedāntin does not deny the reality of the ego in so far as its relevance to day-to-day activities are concerned. But the Buddhist would deny the self in all its forms and aspects-in so far as attempts to erect a metaphysical doctrine of any kind is doomed to a *logical* failure.

Let us take some of the important texts of early Buddhism where this doctrine is discussed : In the *Mahāvagga*, where the famous sermon delivered by Buddha at Benares appears, denial of all forms of the ego, the I-ness is totally refuted.[4] Similarly in the Brahmajāla sūtta of *Dīgha Nikāya*, sixty-two erroneous views about the self are mentioned, as expounded by various schools of thought—the 'eternalists', 'the non-eternalists', 'the estensionists', the 'eel-wrigglers', 'the fortuitous-originists' etc.[5] All these views are refuted one by one. Similarly in the so-called Poṭṭhapāda Sūttanta of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, there appears a dialogue

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between the Buddha and Poṭṭhapāda,[6] in which the former considers in detail various ways in which the self can be viewed (including its identification with consciousness), but refutes them all emphatically. So also in Sūtta No. 15 of the *Mahā-nidāna-suttanta*, Buddha positively refutes the view about the self being formless and boundless or identical with thought or feeling.[7] So also in *Majjhima-Nikāya* in the Chūlasachchaka Sutta, the Buddha is said to have declared:

> "Material shape, monks, is impermanent, the habitual tendencies are impermanent. Feeling is impermanent, perception is impermanent, consciousness is impermanent. Material shape monks, is not self, feeling is not self, perception is not self, the habitual tendencies are not the self; all conditioned things are impermanent, all things are not self."[8]

Later in the same text[9] it is recorded that during the course of a discussion between Sachchaka and himself, the Buddha declares categorically that rūpa as well as vijñāna (form and consciousness) are both meaningless and therefore non-eternal. In part III of the *Saṃjutta Nikāya*, Buddha reverts to the same theme.[10] There are a number of other passages, which it is unnecessary to cite here, where the reality of the self in all its forms is denied categorically.

From all these passages, one draws the inevitable conclusion that the Buddha admits nothing but the fleeting sensations, which can hardly be raised to the status of the identical self. Thus the individual is merely a 'saṁghata' or the aggregate of sensuous elements. No nāma (or mental unity) or rūpa (physical unity) can be ascribed to such fleeting discrete elements. Satkaya-dṛishti or identification of these elements with body as the self, feeling as the self, perception and consciousness also as the self, should be avoided as it is wrong. In the dialogue between the puggalavadin (believer in the doctrine of the self) and the theravadin in the *Kathāvatthu* and in the famous dialogue between Nāgasena and Milinda in *Milindapañha*, the doctrine already expounded by the Buddha in his dialogues finds an emphatic re-statement. What is rejected here is the conception of a static being, a Brahman or a Purusha. Even the theory of causation in the Sāṁkhya and Vedānta systems is Satkāryavāda or one of its forms, which is radically opposite that of Buddhism, where the self-identity of the cause and the effect is called into question. Its denial of soul and its silence regarding God raise doubts in one's mind whether it is a religion at all. With the exception of its monastic order, there is nothing in Buddhism to give it a religious character.

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The scepticism seems to be complete, but for the faith that the Buddhist has in the moral order of the universe. In fact to my mind its denial of the reality of the soul is not as sceptical as it appears to be ; it is only indicative of the anti-metaphysical standpoint of Buddhism. Metaphysical investigations do not reveal truth. They disturb the mind, and have a tendency to divert our attention away from the truth. It is perhaps for this reason that even nirvāṇa is explained more in metaphorical than in metaphysical terms. One has always wondered why the Buddhists have a doctrine of nirvāṇa at all when they deny any reality whatsoever to the soul. The difficulty however is only theoretical. For the Buddhist never doubts the reality of the moral order, dhamma. The Buddhist is only against metaphysics in the name of a spiritual outlook. Once this point is borne in mind, there is no difficulty in reconciling anātmavāda with nirvāṇa.

Unfortunately our mind is clouded by the traditional Vedāntic outlook, which would regard any attack on its dogmatic spiritualistic metaphysics sceptical and doomed to failure. The indifference of the Vedānta to ethics is traceable to its preoccupation with non-worldly concepts. Buddhism on the contrary is world oriented-at least in its earlier phases. The distinction between the empirical and the transcendental is a later development of Buddhist metaphysics. One never comes across this distinction in the early Buddhist texts. Hence the Buddhist it may rightly be pointed out, is never interested in the beyond, which is metaphysically based. The entire conception of dhamma in early Buddhism is based on an affirmation of the moral order, which comes with as great a force as the Kantian affirmation of the reality of the moral order within as opposed to the starry heavens above. All our miseries are due to the indifference of man to the inexorable laws of the universe, the structure of the universe being dharmakāya. Hence even if the elements of our experience are discrete and fleeting they are not chaotic; they are ordered and there is a direction to the fleeting events that constitute the history of the world. These inexorable laws of history is perhaps what the Buddhist calls dharma, which embraces both the moral and the physical world. Its truth is not to be sought in metaphysical investigations, but realized by the enlightened in understanding dhamma, the moral order.

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A TRANSMATERIALISTIC INTERPRETATION OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

HARSH NARAIN

Marxism is known as 'dialectical materialism', an expression introduced by Plekhanow and then adopted by Lenin. Some contemporary Marxologists have expressed themselves in favour of regarding Marxism as a far cry from materialism and redesignating it as naturalism-humanism, following Marx's own express or implied preference for the term in some of his early writings.[1] 'This communism', says Marx, 'as fully-developed naturalism, equals humanism, and as fully developed humanism equals naturalism'.[2] He also writes, 'Like Owen, the more scientific French communists, Dezamy, Gay and others, developed the teaching of *materialism* as the teaching of *real humanism* and the basis of *logical communism.*'[3] He writes again, 'Here we see how consistent naturalism or humanism distinguishes itself both from idealism and materialism, constituting at the same time the unifying truth of both.'[4] Naturalism is wider than materialism, in so far as nature includes both matter and mind, atom and man. 'Nature is material but not materialistic,' says George Santayana.[5] In his naturalism, Marx seems to follow Feuerbach, who regards his philosophy as neither materialist nor idealist on the ground that his primary concern is man.[6] Feuerbach writes, 'As man belongs to the essence of nature, in opposition to common materialism, so nature belongs to the essence of man, in opposition to subjective idealism.'[6a] Jacques Monod, the French scientist, dubs dialectical materialism as animism, construing it to purport to project consciousness into nature.[7]

We may take leave of the animist hypothesis which appears to go to unwarantable extremes. The naturalist hypothesis is certainly sober so far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. To our way of thinking, dialectical materialism culminates in and is in effect tantamount to a kind of what may safely be described as 'transmaterialism', which alone is capable of doing justice to the self-transcendent character of the Marxian dialectic. Marx and Engels do describe their philosophy as materialism, but they seem to do so for want of a better term. In their search for a suitable label for their philosophy in contradistinction to 'idealism', they found the term 'materialism' ready to hand.

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The term 'materialism' has ceased to be popular in the non-red world of philosophy, because, for one thing, the status of matter today is scarcely better than that of an airy nothing. The history of conceptions about matter is the history of its progressive dematerialization. Originally, it seems, matter was regarded as earth, fire, and water; and Empedocles admitted air, the first step towards mystification of matter. Then it was discovered that it was not earth, water, fire, and air perceived by us that are collectively called matter but that they are reducible to molecules and atoms which alone deserve the designation of matter. Later, space was also added to the list of the elements of matter, which marked a further stage in the mystification of matter. Some traditions derive everything from space[8] or space-time[9], which renders matter incredibly abstract. The analysis of atoms yielded electrons and protons, which, too, came to be analyzed into electric waves. Matter has of late disappeared as a 'thing'; been replaced by emanations from a locality, 'the sort of influences that characterize haunted rooms in ghost stories';[10] and been reduced to the status of 'a lump in space-time, a "mush" of electricity, a wave of probability undulating into nothingness'.[11] Jordan, the author of the *Twentieth century Physics* (1936), describes the atom as system of mathematical formulas. Bertrand Russell reduces everything to strings of sets of events, which are neither physical nor mental but a kind of natural stuff. Such men of science as Arthur Eddington and James Jeans reduced all reality into terms of mind-stuff, of projection from the percipient's consciousness. This all seems to suggest that 'materialism' is now an anachronism and must transcend itself.

The situation had not come to such a head during the life-time of Marx and Engels. Nevertheless, even then, the situation was ripe for bidding goodbye to the then materialism based on the notion of solid, indivisible, impregnable bits of matter called atoms mechanically arranged so as to form the brickwork of our cosmos or the bedrock of reality. Such what Marx and Engels call mechanistic or vulgar materialism and what now passes for reductive materialism, in that it seeks to reduce everything animate and inanimate to atoms, which Marx and Engels spared to chance to condemn and in emphatic terms. Contradistinguishingly to the Democritian-Cartesian-Newtonian mechanistic conception of nature, Engels maintains that 'the world is not to be comprehended as a complex of ready-made *things*, but as a complex of *processes* ...'[12] Thus, the solid substance that was matter exits from the scene yielding place to process, something much less material. At the hands of Marx and Engels, matter also ceased to be the indeterminate 'x' operating as the substratum for various modes supervenient upon or superadded to it. 'Matter is

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nothing,' says Engels, 'but the totality of material things from which this concept is abstracted....; words like matter and motion are nothing but *abbreviations* in which we comprehend different sensuously perceptible things according to their common properties.'[13] Matter, motion, space, time, cause, and effect are, according to him, 'abstractions' or 'creations of thought and not sensuous objects'.[14] Elaborating upon the idea later, he contends, with reference to Hegel, that 'matter as such, as distinct from definite existing pieces of matter, is not anything sensuously existing. When natural science directs its efforts to seeking out uniform matter as such, to reducing qualitative differences to merely quantitative differences in combining identical smallest particles, it is doing the same thing as demanding to see fruit as such instead of cherries, pears, apples, or the mammal as such instead of cats, dogs, sheep, etc., gas as such, metal, stone, chemical compound as such, motion as such.'[15] Marx and Engels develop this idea at a great length in the *Holy Family.*[16] They have, to be sure, taken their cue from Hegel,[17] who observes that we can eat cherries and plums but not *fruit.*[18] Ridiculing the idea of 'fruit' as the true essence, *matter*, of the pear, the apple, etc., Marx and Engels remark, *inter alia*, that 'if the Christian religion knows only *one* Incarnation of God, speculative philosophy has as many incarnations as there are things, just as it has here in every fruit an incarnation of the "substance", of the Absolute "Fruit".[19] Berkeley had already dealt a death-blow to material substance. Indeterminate universal matter came to grief at the hands of Hegel also. But Marx and Engels' real fore-runners on this issue were Helvetius and Holbach, to whom, too, matter is not a material substance, *un etre unique*, but *un genre d'etre*, 'the *summum genus* of the classification of bodies on the basis of their physical and chemical properties'. Matter is, to them, not a substance but a concept, and in this sense a creation of man. 'Matter is not a being,' writes Helvetius, 'for in nature there are only individuals to which the same *body* has been given... The word "matter" can only be understood to connote the collection of properties common to all these bodies.'[20] The word "matter" is, therefore, 'part of the metalanguage of science rather than of its object language'.[21]

So, Marx and Engels discard matter as original, pre-existent, formless substance appearing to the Greeks as chaos and to Laplace as nebula representing the uniform substratum of the world. In this respect, they differed radically from Leucippus and Democritus, Descartes and Hobbes-yes, even from Aristotle, the advocate of *materia prima.*

Rejection of matter as something shared in common by and subjacent to the plurality of things is a *sine qua non* of the evolutionary-dialectical view

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of reality sponsored by Marx and Engels. If the primordial matter is fixed and immutable, otherwise it would not be ultimate in any sense, then there is no real change, no real novelty. This Engels dubs as the 'unhistorical view of nature' based on 'the metaphysical, that is, anti-dialectical manner of philosophizing',[22] whereas, according to him, nature 'goes through a real historical evolution.'[23] The truth of the view that dialectical materialism cannot envisage an ultimate, immutable principle of being to which all else is reducible has begun to dawn upon the Soviet mind.[24]

Engels maintains that '*Motion is the mode of existence of matter*, hence more than mere property of it.'[25] According to him, 'All rest, all equilibrium is only relative, only has meaning in relation to one or other definite form of motion.[26] 'Each separate movement strives towards equilibrium, and the motion as a whole puts an end again to the equilibrium.'[27] Here, motion should not be understood merely as local, mechanical motion. 'Motion is not merely change in place,' says Engels, 'in fields higher than mechanics it is also change in quality.'[28] The major forms of motion are : 'Motion in cosmic space, mechanical motion of smaller masses on a single celestial body, the vibration of molecules as heat, electric tension, magnetic polarization, chemical decomposition and combination, organic life up to its highest product, thought—at each given moment each individual atom of matter is in one or other of these forms of motion.'[29] This list of motions includes life and thought also; but, as Engels hastens to add, higher forms of motion like life and thought are far from reducible to lower forms of motion like molecular and chemical motions in the brain.[30] Taking their cue from such an observation, the Deborinists in the USSR went to the length of attributing thought and extension to matter much on the lines of Spinoza. The official Soviet philosophy, however, recognizes only one attaibute of matter, motion in general. accommodating thought within it as a special form. Marx and Engels also assert that motion as the most important inherent quality of matter is 'not only *mechanical* and *mathematical* movement, but still more *impulse, vital life-spirit.* The primary forms of matter are the living, individualizing *forces of being* inherent in it and producing the distinction between the species.'[31] Engels also maintains that 'it is the nature matter to advance to the evolution of thinking beings.'[32] Bacon, whose 'blooming sensuousness' Marx and Engels preferred to Hobbs's 'abstract sesuousness of the geometrician',[33] thought matter to be so formed that 'virtues, essence, action, and motion may be the natural consequence and emanation thereof.'[34] The mechanistic conception of nature 'explains all change from change of place, all qualitative differences from quantitative ones, but Engels contends,

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'the relation of quality and quantity is reciprocal, that quality can become transformed into quantity just as much as quantity into quality, that in fact, reciprocal action takes place.'[35]

The whole burden of the materialisms and positivisms other than dialectical and emergent materialisms has from the first been to explain consciousness away, or to explain it either as a function of the dead, inconscient matter or, in the case of J.B. Watson. Bertrand Russell, and Gilbert Ryle to some extent or other, as descriptive of human behaviour rather than as naming an entity as a logical construction, in effect. It is evident that here all-out importance is sought to be attached to 'matter' or the physical reality. Hegel, in effect, goes to the other extreme of remaining preoccupied with the spirit throughout. Marx seems to strike a middle path by setting man as 'the immediate object of natural science'.[36] His approach is so humanistic that the external world seldom enters his universe of discourse on its own account, save as man's 'inorganic body'.[37] According to him, 'man is the supreme being for mankind',[38] and '*Man* is directly a *natural being*'.[39] Nature as nature never impressed him as a reality. '*Nature as nature*', he contends,—'that is to say, in so far as it is still sensuously distinguished from that secret sense hidden within it—nature isolated, distinguished from these abstractions, is *nothing*—a nothing *proving itself to be nothing*—is *devoid of sense*, or has only the sense of being an externality which has to be annulled.'[40] A little later, he adds that externality 'is to be taken here in the sense of alienation—a mistake, a defect, which ought not to be.'[41] Engels seems to echo these words when he remarks that 'it is precisely *the alteration of nature by men*, not solely nature as such, which is the most essential and immediate basis of human thought'.[42] It is neither matter nor mind—both abstractions—but man that is the goal of nature and history. 'All history', says Marx, 'is the preparation for "*man*" to become the object of *sensous* consciousness, and for the needs of "man as man" to become [natural, sensuous] needs. History itself is a *real* part of *natural history*—of nature's coming to be man.'[43] On this issue, Marx is clearly under the influence of Feuerbach, who 'makes man, including nature as the basis of man, the sole, universal and highest object of philosophy, makes, therefore, of anthropology, including physiology, the universal science.'[44]

The naturalistic, humanistic, or transmaterialistic dimensions of dialectical materialism are thrown into further relief by the Marxian theory of knowledge, which sees virtues in idealism unsuspected by the materialist tradition. 'The chief defect of all hitherto existing materialism', says Marx, '.... is

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that the thing, reality, sensuousness, is conceived only in the form of the object or of *contemplation*, but not as *human sensuous activity, practice,* not subjectively. Hence it happened that the *active* side, in contradistinction to materialism, was developed by idealism....'[45] So Marx discards the passivist theory of knowledge, so to speak, upheld by traditional materialism, and seeks to replace interpretation-oriented philosophy by a change-oriented one, according to which knowing is changing.[46] When we know a thing, we do not remain passive recipients of impressions of the object; on the other hand, we actively transform it. Knowing or sensing, that is to say, is not contemplating or sensum-receiving but 'handling' or 'noticing' things, to use Bertrand Russell's expression.[47] So, according to Marx, pure, objective truth is a fiction, an abstraction, at best pure academics; all truth is subjective-objective, the result of an interaction between subject and object. 'The question whether objective truth can be attributed to human thinking is not a question of theory but a *practical* question. In practice man must prove the truth, that is, the reality and power, the this-sidedness of his thinking. The dispute over the reality or non-reality of thinking which is isolated from practice is a purely *scholastic* question.'[48] Knowing worth the name is, therefore, a part of the process called praxis (practice): it is knowing on the part of the one who means business, so to speak. Quite consistently, Marx avers, 'The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways [scholastically]; the point, however, is to change it.[49]

On the basis of the foregoing statement of the Marxian activist or praxiological theory of knowledge, it would not be going too far to maintain that Marx considers it futile to view reality 'in the form of the object'. And it needs no saying that he would be the last to view reality in the from of the subject, like idealism. To him, subject and object both are abstractions, practically speaking. He is inclined to viewing reality integrally, as subject-object. Theoretically, nature 'preceded human history'[50] but this is, in the ultimate analysis, an '*abstraction* from the existence of nature and man', which 'has no meaning'.[51] As a matter of fact, 'the *entire so-called history of the world* is nothing but the begeting of man through human labour, nothing but the comming-to-be of nature for man'.[52]

The ideal of dialectical materialism is not objective truth but creative truth, as it were. Positivism as exclusive allegiance to the given, as abject surrender to the status quo, is foreign to dialectical materialism, which, therefore tends to transcend materialism and draw near idealism.

As a matter of fact, dialectic is a trans-empirical concept, dialectical matter is transmatter, and dialectical materialism is transmaterialism. 'Naturalism'

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and 'hmanism' measure only part of the transmaterialism. Its 'matter' involves and is opposed to non-matter and would hence be far from ultimate. In fact, in dialectic, the ultimate is never reached at all. Dialectic is a self-transcending process, which must stretch into what is called the Absolute. Dialectic knows no limits, forwards or backwards. It emerges from unsuspected depths and loses itself into the beyond. If one chooses to describe the depths and the beyond as those of matter, then matter is finite in depth as well as height. Lenin describes 'the infiniteness of matter' as 'deep within.'[53] Such matter surely transcends materiality. Dialectic is a crusade against absolute barriers in the *rerum natura*, against 'absolute boundaries in nature', as Lenin would have it.[54] But the conception of matter as the absolute reality sanctioned by materialism does serve to raise such boundaries, in as much as it renders mind and spirit less real than dead matter. It thereby runs the risk of being construed to imply that matter is absolute and mind or spirit relative. But Marxism proclaims that 'nothing is final, absolute, sacred' and that 'nothing can endure before it except the uninterrupted process of becoming and of passing away, of endless ascendancy from the lower to the higher.'[55] Reductive materialism interprets all phenomena in terms of inorganic matter, reducing the former to the latter without residue. To it the rational, moral, and spiritual being called man is nothing but thinking matter, thinking matter is nothing but living matter, and living matter is nothing but inorganic matter. On the contrary, dialectical materialism is all for real qualitative change in 'matter', real development from the lower to the higher, real novelty. Thus, what is called matter is something which manifests itself as now dead, now living, now thinking and whose very nature it is to transcend itself by evolving into higher and higher forms of existence. The ascription of such a creative role to matter serves to turn it into a veritable absolute which is a misnomer to term 'matter'. Dialectical materialism views the world-process as a process of continual ascent extending into infinity and capable of evolving life, mind, spirit, and what not, thereby vesting matter with infinite creative powers, with (potential) omnipotence and omniscience, the proverbial attributes of the Godhead.

Thus, dialectic can envisage only a perennially self-transcending developmental reality which cannot be whittled down to the much narrower concept of matter. Indeed, dialectic leads to transmaterialism and integralism/holism, by no means to materialism. If, therefore, Marxism is dialectical, it cannot be materialist; if materialist, it cannot be dialectical. In order to be dialectical, it will have to be integralist; in order to retain its materialism, it will have to

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bid good-bye to dialectic. Vesting matter with selfmovement through the conflict of opposites, dialectic obviates the necessity of an unmoved mover outside matter, but it does not and cannot obviate the necessity of a source of perfection towards which the world is tending inexorably through the dialectical process. Dialectic is divine discontent: it cannot cry a halt till it reaches the Absolute, it cannot stop short at less than the Absolute. Here one is tempted to hark to Iqbal's Persian couplet:

Dar dashṭ-i junūn-i man Jibrīl zabūn ṣaid-i
Yazdāṅ ba-kamand āwar, Ay Himmat-i Mardānah

(In the jungle of my frenzy, Gabriel is a bad game. O Manly Courage ! throw your noose round God.)

There is, therefore, nothing strange when Hegel observes, with characteristic profundity, 'Regarding that Absolute Being, enlightenment itself falls out with itself in the same way as it did formerly with belief, and is divided between the views of two parties..... The one kind of enlightenment calls absolute Being that predicateless Absolute, which exists in thought beyond the actual consciousness from which this enlightenment started; the other calls it matter.... Both...are entirely the same notion; the distinction lies not in objective fact, but purely in the diversity of starting-point adopted by the two developments of thought, and in the fact that each stops at its own special point in the thought-process.'[56] Marx and Engels quote this passage without demur.[57] That is presumably why Lenin remarks, 'Intelligent idealism is closer to intelligent materialism than stupid materialism.'[58] From the standpoint of older materialism, he maintains, idealism is only nonsense; from the standpoint of dialectical materialism, it is only one-sided.[59]

Marx and Engels appear to metamorphose Hegel's dialectical absolutism into dialectical materialism. But materialism, too, has changed in the process, in certain respects beyond recognition. The synthesis attempted between Hegel and materialism is nearly as daring as the one attempted by the schoolmen between Aristotle and Christianity in medieval times on one hand and by the Muslim philosophers between Aristotle and Islam on the other, with this difference, however, the chances of rapproachement between Marxism and Hegel are brighter.

It is also pertinent to point out that dialectic tends to take a turn to teleology. It presupposes the stage nicely set from the first for the grand denouement called communism or transcommunism[60] 'in which...a progressive

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development asserts itself in the end'.[61] More or less like the Advaitin's Moksha and the Buddhist's Nirvāṇa which requires nothing but the removal of ignorance for its realization, the ideal of dialectical materialism, too, requires only the removal of the obstructions to its realization. In fact, the Marxists 'have no ideals to realize, but to set free the elements of the new society with which old collapsing bourgeois society itself is pregnant.'[62] The 'present society is inevitably tending' to 'that higher form'.[63] Marx and Engels also make the declaration, 'Communism is for us not a *state of affairs* which is to be established, an *ideal* to which reality (will) have to adjust itself. We call communism the *real* movement which abolishes the present state of things.'[64] As a matter of fact, dialectical materialism presupposes a correlation, a pre-established harmony, between the physical and moral order on one hand and the natural and the historical on the other. Thus, the dialectical process is a process of perennially creative self-transcendence in determinable directions, and 'matter' appears to be too poor a category to match it.

Dialectic presupposes the pre-existence of perfection, of an infinite whole made up by the finites. The finites represent a lapse from the pristine perfection and crave to return to their original self by referring beyond themselves. They cannot afford to bear the pangs of separation for long. They are in fact in the nature of abstractions from an infinite context, parts torn out of a whole. Abstraction implies that originally united elements of thought come to be violently held apart, striving to extricate themselves from the clutches of finitude. Abstractions cannot rest content with themselves; they must ultimately revert to and get reunited with their concrete ground. Everything finite involves, to Hegel, a 'restless activity of cancelling and superseding itself.'[65] He is right in judging the finite to be 'radically self-contradictory' and involving 'its own self-supersession'.[66] The lower categories subsist in and through the higher categories. Marx propounds no such thesis; his acceptance of dialectic does, however, entail acceptance of this position. And it is evident that 'matter' is too poor a category to aspire to perfection, unless it transcends itself radically. There is no reason why Marx should demur to such transcendence of matter or, rather, why he should not be held to imply a belief in transmatter.

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APPLICATION OF WESTERN TERMINOLOGY TO EARLY MEDIEVAL ART OF INDIA

BALRAM SRIVASTAVA

This paper aims at discussing the terminology of Western art criticism in the study of early medieval art of India. To begin with we examine the validity of the term 'medieval' used so far in the Indian context, particularly in the periodisation of art-history. It was since the seventeenth century when Callarius, the Dutch humanist, divided history into three great epochs ancient, medieval and modern. The term 'medieval' has universal application to all histories and has been accepted by the scholars with almost dogmatic finality. But, though it has universal application, there are controversies regarding the use of the term; from the point of view of chronology as well as from the point of its social and historical content. In the case of history of art in India there is no unanimity in the application of the term. To some, the medieval period in Indian history began in the Gupta period[1] while to others it began in the twelfth century A. D. with the coming of the Persianised Turks professing Islam.[2] To avoid both the extremes, particularly from the point of view of art-history, some historians treat most of the art-activity from the post-Gupta period after fifth or early sixth century upto the thirteenth or a little later, as medieval.[3] This broad chronological spectrum is divided into early (6th to 8th century) and late medieval periods of art from 8th to 13th centuries A.D.[4]

So far as the chronological aspect of the medieval Indian art is concerned, it is always acceptable, with all its variations in the time limits. But if it signifies a definite belief, practice, method, spirit and ideology, the real difficulty begins. It needs comparision with the art of the Western Middle Ages[5] and suggests an interlude between two great ages. But the medieval Indian art has generally been held as the final phase of the traditional art. The art which flourished under the Muslims in the medieval period mostly is Indian only geographically. Due to its inherent Islamic character, it is utterly un-Indian, in spirit as well as in form. Any attempt at the comparision of Indian medieval art with the art of the Middle Ages of the Western world is also misleading, particularly when it is made under the same nomenclature as it is done in Europe.

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Middle Ages, popularly regarded as an interlude of abysmal ignorance and superstition, a synonymn for the reactionary or unprogressive,[6] has been compared with the medieval Indian; and, thus it has also been described as unproductive and degenerate.[7] The art of the period has been almost condemned as mechanical, devoid of individuality and not representing any great art. But this erroneous notion is due to two reasons. One is, that the whole of the medieval Indian art and culture is treated as in the case of the Middle Ages[8] as one unified cultural unit and the other is the unbalanced comparision of the medieval art with the Classical art of the Gupta period. The former has led historians to make certain sweeping generalizations, such as the above, and the latter to meaningless comparision with the great periods of Western art preceding the Classical art. Even the most venerable critics of Indian art have attempted to determine the stages of the growth of Indian art on western lines. Ananda K. Coomarswamy determines the development of post-classical art into three stages, i.e. romantic, rococo and mechanical.[9] While due to its established excellence the Gupta art is treated as the Classical form of Indian art, the preceding phases of Indian art have nothing in common with the romantic, rococo or mechanical forms of the western art, either characteristically or chronologically. Romantic forms were adopted in Europe, particularly in France, Britain and Germany in about 1833[10] and mechanical immediately after the death of Louis XIV of France in 1715 and flourished in other countries such as Germany and Austria in 1740[11] to be superseded by neoclassicism. From the point of view of its nature and content also this form does not show any parallelism in Indian art. The Rococo, is basically a style of interior decoration, and consists principally in the use of C. scrolls and counter curves, with marginal influences on painting and sculpture.[12] So far as the mechanical forms are concerned, they are undefined in Western art and such forms, as a movement, are undeterminable in Indian art history.

Benjamin Rolland finds no reason to apply the names of European periods to the East. But he finds justification for the word Baroque which, according to him, as a description and a parallel, is much more appropriate for the character of the final phase of Indian culture from the point of view of its tremendous power and dynamic richness of expression.[13] How far this observation holds good I am unable to understand. 'Tremendous power and dynamic richness of expression' is one quality more or less common to both the arts, but on real comparison, particularly from the point of view of its naturalism, hightened and tensed emotive form, religious persuasion, textural

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quality and decorativeness, there are essential differences. In fact, decorativeness and ornamentation never superseded the anatomy and certain masterpieces of early medieval Indian art such as, the Trimurti of Ellora, Sursundaris of Konark, Chola bronzes, particularly the Naṭrāja images may not be classed with the baroque examples.

Codrington has objected to the use of the Classical also to any period of Indian art-history in its strict anthropological aesthetic sense of the German critics, who used this term first. He has suggested the need for 'redefinition' if it is to be used in Indian art-history.[14] The classical as well as the Gothic periods in the European art-history come very late in comparision to the period applied for the period in Indian history. 'Classic' in European art-history usually used to mean an established excellence and classicim as a form of art derived or thought to be derived from the study of Antique 'examples' which are by definition 'Classic.' This became a fixed dogma in the mid-18th century though prevelent almost since 16th century A. D.[15] Any comparision of Gothic art with a phase of Indian art is also a fruitless attempt. Gothic art (which is essentially an architectural style of North Europe from the early 12th century untill the 16th century A. D.) has essential difference with the Indian art of this period. Essential unity of architecture and sculpture is the basic quality of the early Medieval art and the lack of this quality in the Gothic art certainly rules out the possibilities of comparision of the two great arts.

The classification of arts under the scheme of Withelm Worringer is also not meaningful in Indian art-history. He describes the world art into three kinds—Primitive, Classical and Oriental. This scheme has been partly endorsed by Coomarswamy. The thesis of W. Worringer is to be understood first. He explains the art of Primitive Man is an art of absolute values deliberately avoiding the arbitrariness of life of which it is said that he is afraid. Primitive Man was only artistically active when he drew or scratched on the plane surface. When he modelled in clay it was merely a bubbling over of playful imitative impulse....Classical Man moulds his cosmos out of chaos : his life becomes more beautiful more joyful, but loses in depth, in grandeur, and in force. Oriental Man is the close of cycle of development : he is no longer confused or tormented by dualism, but feels it as an exalted destiny and humbles himself. The art of Oriental Man exhibits an absolute redemptive character, it is sharply outlined, transcendently abstract complexion divides it from all that is classical. It expresses no joyful affirmation of sensuous vitality but belongs rather entirely to the other domain which through all the transitoriness and chances of life strives for a higher world, freed from all illusions

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of the senses, from all false impressions, a domain of which inevitableness and permanency reign and to which the great serenity of oriental instinctive knowledge gives the consecration.[16]

Obviously, the tern 'Oriental' here is more abusive than real. His whole thesis is so psychological that it is hardly legitimate. It is not applicable to the history of any great art, particularly Indian, widely distributed in time and space.

Codrington is quite clear in his mind when he dismissess the thesis of W. Worringer by pointing out that the early medieval art of India, particularly the sculptural art is neither abstract nor sharply outlined. On the contrary, it is absolutely joyful affirmation of form.[17]

If we take the poisitive side of early medieval sculptures, one can note that in the quality of 'sensusous vitality' the early medieval art is unparallel to any example of socalled oriental art. In this regard this phase of art is also not a complete departure from the early phase of art (Gupta or classical). As a matter of fact the so called classical quality of Gupta art as found in the spiritual contour of body and form really melts into pleasing and joyful attraction in the sculptures of the period, particularly of the Pala sculptures, which is near in time and place to the Gupta art than others. Joyfull affirmation and sensuous vitality is the most charming quality of the Pala sculptures.

The art of early medieval period is neither abstract nor belonging to other domain. Made by man, through material medium, though representing god himself, the early medieval art represents the Man himself in more than one form, as a god, as a devotee, as a worldly ruler. So, unlike the socalled man of the oriental art, he is not humble' but great as the god himself. This fulfills the long cherished maxim *ahambrahmāsmi*.

To take the case of Romanesque art as a counterpart of early medieval art. Both serve their contemporary religions and both employed large scale figure sculptures systematically arranged to decorate the religious architecture—churches and temples.[18] But in the stylistic aspect while Romanesque is a complete departure from the 'Classical' Gupta classicism formed the genesis of some of the scholastic development of early medieval sculptural art and remained for a considerably long time a vital force in giving strength to various regional art-centres. It is to be understood that if the regionalism was for a change in the early medieval art, classicism was for the bond of essential unity and continuity.

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But one notable difference of wide range consequence is that while the early medieval art is not the copy of this or that school, even of the Gupta; Romanesque sculptures are mostly the copies from Celtic manuscript or Byzantine irories both in style as well as iconography-consequently providing no scope for the use of power of 'reason' and observation of the masson-artists whose business was to act according to the principles and purposes of Christianity at the demand of the Church. With no such ban, early Indian medieval art served the contemporary religion in a most suitable manner. The artists understood the meaning and contentions of religion and gave them expression, sometimes explanation also, through various art forms in an artistic way. Their creations were not the dictates of any Church authority as was the case with the Romanesque artists. The instructions of Śilpaśāstras which itself were progressive and keeping pace with the time and belief were not so rigid. Nor they imposed any ban on personal experiences and experiments. Even for the cult and canonical images there was unconditional licence granted to the Śilpī. *Śukranīti* recommends the practice of making images according to the imagination of the 'Śilpi.'

प्रतिमाकल्पयेच्छिल्पी यथारुच्यपरैः स्मृता (*Śukranīti*, 4.475).

Therefore, on practice the Indian artist was not merely a mason to arrange their stiff formal figures emblems and patterns in a balanced and decorative way and not to study human beings or animals or plant-life or even Nature. He was fully conscious to life and proved it to be the most essential quality of all significant creations to be manifested through facial expression, flexousness of body (bhangimā) and also by the envoirnment around the sculpture. He presented life full of movement and energy in various aspects of it through the figures of devotees, attendants, semidivine figures of the Vidyādharas and Apsaras around the cult-figures. Life is also present in the early medieval sculptures through various thematic occassions of dance and music as well as war and peace. But, contrary to the above mentioned significance and conotations, the Romanesque art is lifeless, rigid, compressed, grave and quite to the extent of sadness.

Some notices about the sculptural scheme with architectural components would be useful in relation to our discussion about the comparision and contrast of Romanesque art and early medieval art. Long before the early medieval period in India sculptures were employed to adorn the architecture. During the early medieval period not only the walls (bhittikas) of the temple but other parts also such as gavākshas, lalāṭabimbas, toraṇas, dvāras were embelished with the figure sculptures and floral designs and also with

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the pleasing motifs of śālabhañjikās, surasundarīs, Śaradūtas etc. Most of the figure sculptures on the walls etc. iconographically described as pārśva-devatas or prāsada bhūshaṇas have subordinate status in the divine scheme in relation to the cult-icons. But artistically they were not differently treated, except for some examples of slab, stele which were mostly to suit and fit the architectural scheme.[19] This was a concession granted to Śilpī, which they did in most satisfactory manner and the effect was a happy combination between the two arts i.e., sculpture and architecture. This unity in Indian art was a synthesis, which did not hurt the individuality of the either. In Romanaseque art, however, the combination of architecture and sculpture certainly did hurt the independent individuality of the sculpture. In the Romanesque scheme, the sculptures became subordinate to the architecture to the extent that even the royal and divine figures were carved like columns.[20] Thus the scheme of sculpture in the subordination of architectural components became abnormal in relation to human anatomy long, slender, erect, even devoid of some of the human parts and limbs such as arms. Even the cloths are not represented in proper forms. Instead they are shown and arranged by carved lines, flates, ridges in an architectonic decorative way. In the early medieval art, however, the architectoric figures are arranged and delineated without hurting the anatomical principle of figures. Architectoric figures such as the gaṇas, load carrying Yakshas, and Yakshiṇis are arranged on diffent members of the architectural pillars, pillasters, brackets etc., which suit the architectural hormony as well as also their iconographic traits and symbols. The various devices in relation to the designal development of architectural members such as of pillars also show the same tendency, even if they are carved on sculptural principles. For example, the pillars and pillasters of Rājasimha style of the Pallava-art are really sculptures, though functionally they are the significant part of their architectural complex.

The tremendous power and the technological advancement of the west in our times has impressed the oriental mind in more ways than desired. But the very act of imposing on our people its own mode of intelectual and technological knowledge as the sole guide of prosperity has also led the West to discover that in the realm of knowledge there exist other values, other modalities than its own. Simultaneously, it has deepened the understanding to be gained by its native methods of reflection and has also transformed its own grasp of problems on the level of both, physical casuality and conceptual relationship.[21] Certainly, the prospects of our own method and aesthetic standards to evaluate the merits of early medieval art will not fall short. The efforts have to be

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made. But instead of doing this, some aestheticians on Indian art have tried to determine the values of early medieval art under the western conceptional terminology, such as linearism and angularism to be explained as a medieval factor in Indian art, particularly, the sculptural art of the early medieval period.[22]

One very serious result of this tendency to understand medieval Indian art through western ages is to attribute the linearism and angular forms to certain racial factors, probably on the inspiration that the agitated linearism in the art of the Middle Ages in Western Europe has been attributed to Teutonic invasions. But the Teutonic art, generally characterized by two words, linear and dynamic,[23] and, commonly believed to be present with predominance in all art forms of northern races, inherently differs from the Indian angular figures. The former is essentially designal and the latter is figural. The decorative quality of Northern Races are so supreme as a tendency that whenever they delineated even the animal forms it was done fantastically and with elaborate stylisation.[24] Human anatomy has rarely attracted the Northern Races and no idea can be had about their real contribution to the Indian art either in their contemporary periods (the time of invasion into India by Central Asian tribes) or during the period of early medieval India. The theory of Strzygowiski is hardly now valid for India, particularly in face of new researches on Central Asian art which suggest that the element of dynamic linearism in the early medieval Europe, after the fall of Roman Empire may be due to anything else than the impact of Northern Races, for, their art instead being dynamically linear or angular is static, rigid and massive. We have no manner to determine the phases through which the transformation from designal to figural occurred in India and historically it is also not always possible to determine the contribution of ethnic impact of northern tribes from the Kushāṇas to the Gurjaras to the development of art forms. The Teutonic immigrants, though at a later stage, were influenced by Hellenistic culture, were never assimilated into the Roman world, even politically,[25] hence could preserve their artistic traditions to influence the art of the Middle Ages; but such a thing was not possible with the pre-Muslim immigrants in India, who could be assimilated to the culture of the land to the extent that their ethnic influences have become more a presumption than a historically proved fact.[26]

Stella Kramrich followed by some Indian scholars finds the first expression of the so-called northern traits on the fifth century reliefs from Nagari (Chitor) and sixth century Dhamek stupa friege of abstract geometrical patterns.[27] Stella Kramrich finds in the Nagari figures, specially in its inorganic

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treatment a foreign element and also thereby in classical Indian sculpture.[28] But while it is accepted by her also that in the whole of the contemporary sculpture of that phase these are 'only stray instances',[29] it is very hard to make such a grand generalization on the basis of such an ordinary occurrence. The linear accent and the concave stiffness in the Nagari figures, as it appears, is mainly due to its architectonic composition rather than to anything else. Similarly the designal rhythm on the Dhamek stupa is just a plastic transmation of the design usually found on the *dukulas* of Kāshi or on *devadusya* which were to cover the stupas on the ceremonials. It is also to be noted that the geometrical patterns, like many other innovations may also be considered an innovation by the classical mind of the Gupta period though inspiration for it may have been found in the geometric forms in the vedic rituals. Most of the symbols also seem to have derived their origin in these patterns of vedic imagery. V. S. Agrawala has recently illustrated several Vedic sūktas on the basis of the drawings on the Dhamek[31] Such designs or linear accent are isolated occurrences devoid of any ethnic implication and may also be attributed to the artist's own intentions, limitation of texture and technique, lack of knowledge of human anatomy and local artistic traditions, etc. In western India, the so-called home of linear and angular forms researches may prove that it was established there as a local tradition of high antiquity[32] which was reflected as a provincial style characterised by the simplicity and economy of statement, long before the advent of the so-called medieval trend in that region, not only on the imagery but also on the coins. Chandragupta II, the Śakāri (the foe of Śakas) when he conquered western India, acceptd the linear forms of his silver coins, perhaps not as a foreign tradition from the Śakas but as a local tradition.

Linearism in the art of this period can also be attributed to the reactions to the idealistic Gupta classicism. Gupta art is superhuman not only in its concept but also in its form and elusive like myth and rich in formalism. It is meditative and unworldly. As against these qualities, early medieval art is human, natural in feeling and form and fresh in unidealized anatomical concepts rooted in the appreciation of living models of different art-regions.[33] The tensed and dynamic attitudes of figures are quite naturally a reflection of the worldly atmosphere around the artists characterised by political mutability and mass psychological invertive agitation.

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26. Attempts have been made to trace the ethnic influences of foreign tribes on Indian societies. D. R. Bhandarkar, Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population, *Indian Antiquary*, p. 1911 and also *Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1904, p. 413. Apart from certain iconographic and designal motif it is hard to determine the contribution of foreign tribes on art-forms in India. It is also difficult to understand why the traditional art forms of the immigrating tribes were completely submerged when they were politically potent and that become conspicuous and emerged as 'medieval factor' when their influence became a matter of past history.
27. *Indian Sculpture*, p. 103; *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 641-642.
28. *Indian Sculpture*, p. 271. p. 72, Figs. 61 pp. 74, 172.
29. *Ibid*, p. 217. 30. V. S. Agrawala, *Sarnath*, p. 21.
31. V. S. Agrawala, *Vision of Long Darkness*, p. 204.
32. M. R. Majumdar, *Gujrat : Its Art Heritage*, pp. 53-54.
33. *Indian Sculpture*, p. 93.

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THE BANARAS FARMAN OF AURANGZEB

G.D. BHATNAGAR

The Banaras farman of Aurangzeb dated 28th February, 1658, to Abul Hasan, *faujdar* of Varanasi assumes importance as in spite of it the famous Vishwanath temple of Varanasi was destroyed in 1667.[1] Then what was the use of issuing the farman in 1658 ? Jadunath Sarkar following the internal criticism of the document is of opinion that the said "farman had been issued during Aurangzeb's struggle with Shuja just by way of a political move to win for the time being the good will and cooperation of the Hindus for capturing Shuja and had nothing to do with his spirit of toleration."[2]

The text of the farman runs as stated below[3] :—

خدا

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

اورنگ زیب شاه بهادر

غازی ابن صاحب قرآن ثانی

منشور لامع النور اورنگ زیب

محی الدین شاه بهادر غازی

لائق العنایه والرحمه ابوالحسن بالتفات

شاهانه امیدوار بوده بداند که چون بمقتضای

مراحم ذاتی و مکارم جبلی همگی همت والا نهمت و تعالی نیت حق تقویت ما بر رفاهیت (in red ink) رعایا

جمهور انام و انتظام احوال طبقات خواص و عوام مصروفیت و از روی شرع شریف و ملت

منیف مقرر چنین است که دیرهای دیرین برانداخته نشود و بتکدهای تازه بنا نیابد در این

ایام معدلت انتظام بعرض اشرف اقدس ارفع اعلی رسید که بعض مردم از راه عنیف

و تعدی بعضی سکنه قصبه بنارس و برخی از سکنهٔ دیگر که بنواحی آن واقعست و جماعهٔ برهمنان

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سد نه آنمحال که سدانت بتخانهاداں که از مدت مدید بآنها متعلق است باز دارند و اینمعنی

باعث پریشانی و تفرقهٔ حال این گروه میگردد لهذا حکم والا صادر میشود که بعد از ورود این منشور

لامع النور مقرر کند که من بعد احدی بوجوه بیحساب تعرض و تشویش با احوال برهمنان و دیگر هنود

متوطنهٔ آنمحال نرساند تا آنها بدستور ایام پیشین بجا و مقام خو(دبو) ده بجمعیت خاطر (و دعاء)

بقاء دولت (خدا) داد ابد مدت ازل بنیاد قیام نمایند در این باب تاکید داند تبا(ریخ)

۱۵ شهر جمادی الثانیه سنه ۱۰۶۱ هجری نوشته شده

Note : Words in parenthesis have been added to make the sense complete. The paper at such places has been destroyed.

On Reverse

1. At the top right hand is round seal in black and white of Prince Muhammad Sultan

(محمد سلطان بهادر ابن محمد اورنگ زیب شاه بهادر غازی -

2. The following text which has become disjointed on account of the paper having been destroyed is also given :

به رساله نواب قدسی القاب نوبادهٔ بوستان (خلافت گزین ثمره شجره رفعت) چراغ

دودمان ابهت فروغ (خاندا) ن شوکت قره باقرهٔ دولت و اقبال طرهٔ ناصیهٔ

(حشمت) و اجلال گرامی (نسب سمی المکان الممدوح بلسان العبد والحر) شاهزادهٔ

نامدار کامگار والاتبار محمد سلطان بهادر

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Translation of the Farman[4]

Abul Hasan, worthy of kindness and favour :

Expecting royal bounty let him know that since in accordance with our innate kindness of disposition and natural benevolence, our untiring energy and upright intentions are engaged in promoting the welfare of all our subjects belonging to all classes high and low, and in accordance with our holy *Shariat* and the exalted religion of Islam also it is obligatory that the ancient temples of the Hindus should not be demolished, but new ones shall not be built. In these days of administration of justice, information has reached our noble and most holy Court that certain people having taken recourse to rancour and spite are harrassing the Hindus resident of Banaras and its environs. A group of Brahmanas who have been the priests of ancient temples there, are being terrorised. The said people further desire to remove this group of Brahmanas from their ancient offices and it is becoming a cause of distress for the said group of Brahmanas and they are fleeing[3] (تفرقه حال) to other places.

Therefore, the royal command is that on the receipt of our lusturous farman, you must act in a manner that henceforth no one shall in unlawful ways interfere with or disturb the Brahmanas and other Hindus resident in these places so that these people remain in their places and occupation and continue, with peace of mind, to offer prayers for the continuance of our God-given empire that is destined to last at all times. Consider this as most urgent.

Written on 15, Jamadi-us-sani, 1069 A. H. (28th February, 1659).[5]
(On reverse : Granted through the mediation of Prince Muhammad Sultan).

A minute examination of the wordings of the farman reveals that "certain people" (بعض مردم) were harrassing and tyrannising the Hindus.

"Certain peole" cannot mean Muslims alone. In the subsequent lines it is said that "The said people further desire to remove this group of Brahmanas from their ancient offices." It is probable that the disturbance might be due to the Hindus and the Brahmanas themselves. The priesthood or the headship (being a Mahant) of a temple is a coveted status for a section of the Brahmanas and in recent times the contest became so complicated in Varanasi that the case had to be taken to the court of law. The news of disturbance in connection

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with the ancient right of priesthood must have reached Aurangzeb and he immediately ordered for keeping peace in the region.

The farman also prohibits the demolition of old temples of the Hindus (زیرہا دیرین برانداختہ نشود) During the reign of Shahjahan, if the court historian Abdul Hamīd Lahori is to be believed the Hindus of Varanasi were not allowed to complete the construction of even those temples which had started during the reign of Jahangir and which had remained incomplete.[6] Perhaps, by old temples Shahjahan and Aurangzeb meant only such temples which had escaped destruction before the liberal reign of Akbar. Since the Age of Akbar-an era of universal toleration and cultural and social cohesion-was fading out, even temples built during the reigns of Jahangir were labelled as new and were demolished.

It was reported to Shahjahan when he was in Gujerat, Punjab that Muslim women had been converted by the Hindus and were married to them. He appointed Shaikh Mahmud Gujrati to investigate the charges, and Shaikh Gujarati restored seventy such women. Their Hindu husbands were made to pay fine except on the condition of embracing Islam and many of them took to Islam (... دگروهی از کفار بقبول دین مبین از آتش دوزخ رہائی یافتہ)[7].

The *Badshahnama* further informs us that some local theologians and priests petitioned that the Hindus had turned the mosques into houses. The Emperor ordered that after investigation the mosques be restored to their priests (مساجد وعمارات ان ملعین جدا سازد)[8]. The temples were demolished and in their places mosques were built

(بتخانہا منہدم گردید و بجائے ان مساجد بنا یافت)[9].

The demolition of the Vishwanath temple should also be viewed in this background. The greatest harm to Varanasi temples was done by Sikandar Lodi.[10] It is also well known that there was a period in history during medieval times when there existed no Vishwanath temple at all. A new temple

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with the patronage of Govardhan son of Raja Todar Mal was built by Narayana Bhatt during the reign of Akbar.[11]

In the seventh year of Shahjahan 76 temples were destroyed in and around Varanasi.[12] It is quite likely that Vishwanath temple was also destroyed at this time though some portion of it might have escaped destruction. The existing independent wall behind the mosque is full of Hindu ornamentation and by no standard belongs to ancient period of Indian history. The major portion of the temple having been done away with nobody must have paid attention to the wall as also to a big *nandi* (bull) who is facing an old door built in the Hindu style, that is, beam and bracket system.

During the reign of Aurangzeb the Hindus may have desired to re-build the Vishwanath temple built during the reign of Akbar and destroyed in the reign of Shahjahan and it may have been reported as building a new temple and hence, as the author of *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* writes, "On 15th Rabiul Akhir it was reported to his religious Majesty, the leader of the unitarians, that, in obedience to order, the Government officers had destroyed the temple of Bishnath at Benares."[13]

During the medieval period many a Hindu were converted on account of pressure or voluntarily; But no reconversion was allowed. Only Akbar when settled on the throne, stopped this practice. *Vir Vinod* mentions that Akbar desired to give Imperial Princesses in marriage to Rajput chiefs, but the Rajput chiefs did not like it.[14]

Though the Rajputs did not like to marry the Muslim girls, being treated on equality with the Muslims, began to reconvert those who had adopted the faith of Islam under pressure. The author of *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* "speaks of these conversions as if from his own personal knowledge.[15]

On 18th April, 1669, Aurangzeb was informed that in the province of Thatta, Multan and specially in Banaras, the Brahmanas were teaching "frivolous books" in their schools and even Muslim students went to them "from long distances" to learn "the wicked sciences they taught."[16] The provincial governors were then ordered "to destroy with a willing hand the schools and temples of the infidels; and they were strictly enjoined to put an entire stop to the teaching and practising of idolatorous forms of worship.[17] And the Vishwanath temple was demolished.

The destruction of temples had started even in the time of Jahangir and was followed by Shahjahan. But theirs were isolated acts mostly due to

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the influence of the *ulema* and not a marked policy of their government. There is strong historical evidence to prove that during the last years of Shahjahan's reign policy was becoming incresingly liberal. It was this liberalism that gave rise to a reactionary group under Aurangzeb. The basis on which he had won his throne was itself parochial. "The guilt of Aurangzeb is that he let loose the forces of reaction when they were in the process of being dismantled." But it has also to be remembered that though Aurangzeb destroyed many a temple, it was not like Jahangir and Shahjahan a marked policy of his government otherwise how can the existence of Jangambari Math standing at a distance of less than three furlongs from the Vishwanath temple be explained. His military mesaures and religious reforms have justification. But his fault was the manner in which he conducted them.

References

1. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* (Elliot and Dowson, Indian Edition, 1964), VII, p. 184.
2. K.R. Qanungo, "Jadunath Sarkar as a Historian, "*Life and Letters of Sir Jadunath Sarkar*, (ed. H. R. Gupta, Punjab University, Hoshiarpur, 1957), Vol. I, p. 60.
3. The original farman can be seen in Kala Bhawan, Banaras Hindu University.
4. Jadunath Sarkar in his *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, does not give the complete translation, and in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1911 (p. 690), Col D.C. Phillott gives only "Rough Translation ".
5. In the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* the year in the "Rough Translantion" is given as 1064 A.H.=A.D. 1653 or 4. It is wrong as in 1654, Aurangzeb was not in a position to issue any farman. Correct year is A.H. 1069=1669 A D.
6. Abdul Hamīd Lahori, *Badshahnama* (Calcutta : 1867), I, i, 451.
7. *Ibid* , I, ii, pp. 57-58. 8. *Ibid.* 9. *Ibid.*
10. Parmatma Saran and Rai Krishna Das, *Kashi Pradarshan* (Varanasi : v. s. 1669), p. 6.
11. Jangir Singh, "Raja Todar Mal's Sons," *Journal of U.P. Historical Society*, 1942, I, pp. 55 ff.
12. Lahori, I, i, 451. 13. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri, op. cit.*, p. 184.
14. Shyamal Das, *Vir Vinod* (Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha Library, Varanasi), II, 155.
15. *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, p. 203. 16. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri, op. cit.*, 184.
17. *Ibid.*

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MATERIAL CULTURE OF MEDIEVAL ASSAM : AS DEPICTED IN ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS

R. DAS GUPTA

Book illustration took the place of sculptures and reliefs as our source for the study of the material culture of medieval India. Assam was no exception to this country-wide tendency. Like the Rajasthani, Mughal and Pahari miniatures the illustrated manuscripts from Assam throw welcome light on the ways and life of the court as well as of the laity during a period from the 15th to the 18th and 19th centuries. But unfortunately these copiously illustrated manuscripts are very little known outside Assam. Except for the fully illustrated *Dharmapurāṇa* manuscript belonging to the early 18th century, deposited at the British Museum, London, and a few manuscripts with decorative margins to be met with in the City Palace Museum, Jaipur, no other collection out side Assam can boast of any specimen from Assam. This has stood in the way the popularity of the school of Assamese manuscript painting. The *Harshacharita* of Bāṇabbaṭṭa had made mention of Assamese manuscripts sent as presents to Harsha of Kanauj in the following words.

"अगुरु वल्कलकल्पित संचयानि च सुभाषितभांजि पुस्तकानि परिणतपाटलपटोलत्विषि . . . . "

(Nirnayasagara (Text), p. 217).

This seventh century description is correct since as late as the 19th century the bark of the Agaru tree was the main raw material for the production of manuscript folios. Such folios are known in Assamese as *sāñchīpāta*, a corrupt form of *Sañchayapatra* of the Harshacharita, since they collect and preserve knowledge for the posterity. Paper was also known but less popular. Paper folios of manuscripts were known as *Tulāpāta* literally, cotton like sheets made from the pulp of the mulberry tree and others growing in the hills of present day Arunachal Pradesh, then a part of the Ahom kingdom of Assam. Paper making was introduced into Assam by the Tai conqurors who settled in the 13th century when they left their original homeland in the Yunnan and Sechuan region due to pressure from the invading Mongol power. In extraordinary cases manuscript folios were made from sheets of the golden *Mugā* silk which were stitched together like books and not left loose like the manuscript folios of palm leaf or *Sañchīpāta*.

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The earliest extant manuscript from Assam is the Phung Chin dated 1473 A. D. Written on locally made paper and illustrated with coloured drawings this manuscript reveals a forgotten style of painting in Assam which has much in common with Burmese and Siamese styles of painting This manuscript opens up a vista on the robust, gay and gorgeous way of the Ahoms at the early stage of their settlement before they were fully Indianized. Hence the importance of this manuscript. The style became gradually dominant in the wake of Indianization of the Āhoms.

With the rise of the Neo-Vaishṇava movement of Śrī Śankaradeva in Assam (15th-16th centuries) a new wave of manuscript painting flooded Assam. The earleist extant manuscript in this style is the *Bhāgavata*, Book X (1539 A.D.) now deposited at the Bali Satra, a Vaishṇava monastery in the Nowgong district of Assam. This style of painting was completely Indian and had much stylistic similarities with the contemporary manuscripts like the *Mahāpurāṇa* (1540 A.D.) from Palam or the *Mahābhārata* Vanaparva produced near Agra (1516 A.D.) or the *Gīta Govinda* manuscript deposited at the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. The new style designated as the Satriya due to its association and growth in the Satra or monastic complexes of the Vaishṇavas had an aura of sanctity and was hence practised with minor variations for a period of about three centuries for illustrating religious texts or their Assamese translations. It flourished side by side with the Tungkhungiyā style in the early 18th century which was patronised by the court and was in many ways similar to the provincial Mughal schools of painting, centres of which dotted the art map of India of the day.

The best illustrated manuscripts of Assam were produced during the period 1714 to 1744 A. D. due to the patronage of King Śiva Singha and his consorts Pramatheśvarī Devī and Ambikā Devī. The foremost among such manuscripts are the *Śaṅkha-Chūḍa Vadha*, the *Bhāgavata* Book VI, and the *Hasti-vidyārṇava* deposited at the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Gauhati and the *Dharmapurāṇa* at the British Museum, London. An offshoot of the school produced the Darrang Rāj Vaṁśāvalī (1791 A.D.) at Howli Mohanpur in the Darrang District. The Garmur Satra in upper Assam preserves the unique manuscript *Kumāra Haraṇa*, based on the Usha-Aniruddha episode. This too was a product of the Tungkhungiyā school.

The art of manuscript painting in Assam received a death blow due to the repeated Burmese invasions on Assam in the early 19th century and the final occupation of Assam by the British in 1838 A. D.

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The earliest extant illuminated ms., the Phung Chin dated 1473 A.D. from Assam offers us a grand vista into the early Tāi culture which was transplanted into Assam by the Āhoms who conquered and settled in Assam with Sukapha in the 13th century.

In architecture the first thing that strikes us is the use of wood as a building material even for structures of considerable proportions and of more than one storey. The open pavillion has a stepped structure for the roof which has gables on the four cardinal points at every stage and is topped by a finial. The corners at each stage have a fish-tail like member upwards curling as is characteristic with Thai architecture. Every available space on the wooden surface is minutely carved with geometrical designs. The edges of the parapets are hung with flame like members of wood and other members. This pavillion represents the main type of architecture found in the Phung Chin Ms. Near it stands a masonry stūpa of an interesting design. It is evidently a votive stūpa since a couple are seen doing homage to it. The cylindrical drum of the stūpa stands on a low platform in three steps. The entire drum is decorated with square tiles having a single rosette in each. A narrow band decorated with diamond shaped members separates the drum from the top. It consists of a flat cushion like member topped by a low truncated pyramid which in turn has a heavy cushion, shaped like an Āmalaka but its surface is not ribbed. A number of cushions and turncated pyramids intervene between the Hti and the bulbous cushion below. Three Chhattrāvalīs of receeding sizes top the Hti and metal decorative members are attached to the chattras as well as the mast. The stūpa is quite distinctive in design and does not conform to any standard Indian prototype. Neither does it resemble the Burmese stūpas where drum loses its identity. Another architectural type is a tall pillar representing the earth supported by the great fish according to the Āhom conception. The pillar is tall and cylindrical with a capital shaped like a lotus in half bloom. A little below the middle the pillar is decorated with four bands. The pillar itself stands on a stepped platform. This perhaps represents a type of Pillar of Dharma that were erected to commemorate some event or some person among the Buddhists of Yunan, the home of the Āhoms. The only existing type representing the wooden architecture from the Phung-Chin are the Bāpu-chāngs or Vihāras from the Khampti area in Arunachal Pradesh and those from Arakan and Chittagong in Bangladesh. The use of wood as the chief building material continued till the days of Jayadhwaj Singha when for the first time the magnificance of

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Garhgāon was exposed to the view of the Mughals. The day has been preserved in the Burañjīs as the seventeenth of March, 1662 A.D.[1] when Mirjumla occupied the Āhom Capital. Although the examples of architecture from the Phung Chin Ms. are far removed in time from those described by Shihabuddin Ahmad Talish in his *Fathiyyah-i-Ibriyya*,—yet an account of the later examples would open for us a vista into the new horizon. He said, "The houses in Garhgaon, strong, very long and spacious, full of fine mats which must be seen to be appreciated"[2]. It further describes the Kāreng or the royal palace in detail in the following words. "Around the Kāreng is a wide road. The Cholang Ghar or the Diwān Khānā of the Raja is 120 cubits in length and in breadth 30 only. The roof is supported by 66 columns with a circumference of cubits. Although so large in size they were quite attractive to look at. The carvings on them are beyond description. No other place of such beauty can be found anywhere else in this world. The walls too are full of fine carvings. They are hung with shinning mirrors of brass which reflect the rays of the sun. Twelve thousand carpenters worked to build it for one whole year".[3] The series of five Buddhas in the Bhumisparśa-mudrā sitting, each under its individual multi-foiled arch is interesting. They are probably like the Pāla miniatures, illustrations of some icons in some stūpa or Vihāra. Like the Pāla Buddhist individual icons they are put in separate niches with arches. Most possibly, these Buddha figures present before us the specimen of friezes on the walls of some long destroyed stūpa or Vihāra from Assam. No remains of a commemorative Buddhist pillar from eastern Assam has yet been found. But fragments of a massive monolithic pillar from the precincts of the Mādhava temple at Hajo in Kamrup remain to this day. Popularly known as the Asoka Pillar, it is evidently a Buddhist pillar though its date has not yet been fully established. U.C. Talukdar, however, terms it as Malla Pillar and places it about 400 B.C. though he does not furnish any convincing arguments in favour of his theory. "The discovery of this Buddhist Pillar of Hajo is undoubtedly a good evidence to show that the Buddhist faith gained strong ground in this land".[4] It also proves that pillars were erected by the Buddhists in ancient as well as medieval Assam. The accompanying sketch of the conjectural reconstruction of the pillar shows that the pillar of Hajo had an inverted bell shaped capital in two stages. The pillar in the Phung Chin Ms. too has a somewhat similar capital though ranging in detail. Another ms., the Suk-Tanta Kyempong also shows a Buddha figure in Bhumisparśa mudrā in a pyramidal niche truncated at the top, which is an interesting architectural detail. Masonry or stone seats in the design of the hour glass were also made in the gardens near the stūpa where perhaps an abbot sat to give sermons.

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Modes of conveyance are also depicted of which the Vimāna, the chariot or the 'Jat' and elephants are most common. The Vimānas are of two types but fundamentally they are similar. To a platform or open pàvillion, wheeled or otherwise are attached large wings to soar them high up in the firmament. But the "Jat", like its Burmese counterpart the Yatha or a carriage appears to have been in practical use. It is a buggy on four large wheels with spokes and the roof is in many tiers like a house in the Phug Chin. The front part is shaped like head and breast of a cock while the hind part ends in a tail, with many feathers curling upwards. Such processional cars are still made in Burma on festive occasions, specially the Water Festival in April. The depiction of Ailābon or Airāvata the vehicle of Sikiya, i.e. Śakra or Indra shows caparisioned elephants decorated with hangings from their backs and anklets on their feet were in use among the highly placed. Attendants with beautiful bamboo parasols accompanied them too.

The belongings of Buddhist monks were few as they were supposed to be. From the Suk-Tanta-Kyompong we find that they were restricted to only the following. The seat or pedestal on which the Buddha sits is formed with two full blown lotuses placed back to back one upon another. The 'ku' or the wooden seat was also well carved. The "Tongmai" is a stick with a carved handle while the 'Wee' or the fan was made of palm-leaves. The "Sepik" or the begging bowl made of wood and laquered when inverted fitted the top of the 'Painkhara kopa' and served as its lid. In it the Bhikhus keep their few personal belongings.

The Society as such appear like that of a warring tribe, adventurous, full of zest for life and fond of music and dance. Scenes of dance and music are very common but the most interesting being that in the court of Indra. Men and women took part together in folk dances which were not only vigorous but sensuous to a great degree. But this care free society had its boundless spirit mellowed by Hinayana Buddhism with a deep rooted belief in the theory of Karma and Dukkha originating from rebirth and chastisement in Hell. Scenes of barbaric torture by heidious demons in hell, show that the Sangha did everything possible to make the people aware of the results of excesses on earth. Although Hinayanism with its veneration only of the stūpa and prayers was the main trait of religious practices and beliefs we find that Hindu mythology was deeply implanted in the mind of these people through the stories and parables of the Jātakas. That learning was not unknown is found from the picture of a man kneeling with a ms. in his out stretched hands, evidently reading out to the dignitary in a pavillion.

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After a gap of about a century we come across the *Bhāgavata* Book X Ms. of 1539 A.D. which introduces us to the next phase of the material culture of Assam. This phase is illustrated in all the important mss. produced upto the early part of the Tunkhungiyā period whenceforth the court art of Garhgāon, thoroughly aristocratic in character, reveals a sophisticated and metropolitan culture centering round an autocratic dynasty. Material culture remained the same at the base though Vaishnavism had brought about a change in the spiritual life of the people. In the Tunkhungiyā period Śāktism too could change only super-ficially the culture of Assam as such. All these religious changes had not much to influence the way of life of the people which remains the subject of our study in the present paper. The representation of this culture continued in all the manuscripts produced during this period and continued even to the days of the Tungkhungiyās whenever mss. were produced in the Satriya style, e.g. the *Gīta Govinda* or the Lankā kānda *Rāmāyaṇa*.

In architecture the salient feature had been the exclusive use of wood as the primary bulding material though thatch and mats were used for roofing and for walls respectively. Before we proceed with the details of architecture a comparative study with the salient features of the wooden architecture of China will not be out of place for there is not only a similarity in the choice of building materials but we wonder at the striking similarity in the plan as well as superstructure of the buildings of China and Assam.

"Quite why wood was so favoured has never been properly explained; it was certainly not the lack of alternative materials. Possibly the reason is that China like Japan is an earth quake area. Early builders may have learnt the wisdom of raising relatively flimsy fabrics supported by means of independent structural frame works of wood in preference to massive masonry walls which would prove less able to withstand earth tremors."[5] The above statement applies in both the cases for Assam also. "Consistant use of a single building material in China inevitably led to highly standardised methods of construction and so to an absolute unity of architectural form. The second outcome of use of wood, therefore is that Chinese architecture does not display the rarity of historical styles with which we are so familiar in the West."[6] For an identical situation we find practically no change in the wooden architecture of Assam from the early 16th century to the early eighteenth century. In Assam as in China, "a strongly conservative architectural style resulted from use of wood as a building material."[7] Relative impermanence of individual

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building, then, is the first and most obvious outcome of reliance on wood as the building material par excellence."[8] As a result what has endured of ancient Chinese architecture is rather its fundamental constructional principles and artistic aims."[9]

The Ying-tsao-fa-ship, a Sung dynasty treatise on building construction (1091 A. D.) contains the section through a dwelling house from China (William Willets, *Chinese Art*, p. 697).[10] It is similar in conception and design not only with the illustrations in the Nowgong *Bhāgavata* of 1539 A. D. but also with the plan of the Kirtanghar or prayer hall of the Kamalābārī Satra, Sibsagar District in Assam.[11] A comparative study of the two designs would reveal the inherent similarity in the method of construction. We need not be surprised at this identity between the designs of the two lands. As we shall discuss now, we shall find that there existed between Assam and China a constant contact and intercourse as early as the seventh century A. D. In the *Mahābhārata* the army of Bhagadatta of Assam is described as consisting of "Chīna" soldiers. These and other instances will clearly show that cultural exchanges were inevitable between the two cradles of civilisation surrounded by the rude tribes in the mountains.

The Nowgong *Bhāgavata* enables us to know of the various types of buildings in wood and thatch that were native to Assam. Broadly speaking they can be classified into the prison house, the cow-sheds and the dwellings of the people of Gokul. Except for a few minor details they are all of the same pattern. A sloping roof with projecting and slightly upturned eves rests on a complex of tiered rafters which ultimately rest on the two main posts on the two sides. The facade of one of the houses (*Chitra Bhāgavata*, p. 244) curiously enough is of the chaitya-window type, evidently belonging to a building with a barrel vaulted roof. It is not improbable that the barrel vaulted roof was constructed for wooden building in Assam at so late a date. For, Assam like China and Japan falls in the earthquake zone where building in wood was found to be safer than masonry work. The continuity of the barrel vaulted roof with an apsidal end is still to be seen in the Naga huts. The Nṛityamaṇḍapa of the Kāmākhyā temple at Gauhati also has a similar plan though it is a masonry structure. The building with a Chaitya window facade has a striking similarity with the Lomash Rishi cave in the Barabar Hills of Gaya District. But in the ms. illustration in a queer way even the rafters have been shown thus enabling us to have an idea of the plan of the roof truss. We can compare these painted replicas of a wooden architecture

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to the copies in stone of the early Indian wooden architecture as recorded in the Lomash Rishi, Nagarjuni and Sudāmā Caves of South Bihar. What Percy Brown says of the importance of the lithic copies of wooden architecture can also be said of their painted proto-types from the mss. "Owing to the Indian craftsman's traditional genius for imitation every detail of this early form of timber construction has been most faithfully reproduced in the numerous and very complete examples of rock architecture which followed, so that although the wooden originals have perished their exact facsimilies remain preserved in the living rock. In no other country the carpenter's and the joiner's craft as practiced years ago has been so fully and accurately recorded.[12]

The most elementary type of construction in represented by the prison of Kaṁsa at Mathurā. A sloping roof is supported on columns on the sides. The eve projects a little and has a tendency to curve upwards. The columns taper somewhat towards the top and small square capitals with leaf designs at the corners supported the roof. The top of the column appears to be lathe-turned since the design at the upper-end is a sphere between two discs. An elaboration of the same construction is seen in drawing no. 10. Here the building is a cowshed and being larger and wider has an elaborate roof truss to support the roof with a larger span. The very motive of construction method which sought to use lighter material for walls as a defence against the frequent earthquakes had to make the walls flimsy and comparatively weightless." All that is then required of a house-wall is that it should hold off the weather. Accordingly, it becomes a mere infilling, a non-weight bearing screen, a curtain-wall[13]. There is a great deal of identity in the methods of construction of a Chinese Tien or hall and those depicted in the Assamese mss. resting on a beam held by two shorter queen-posts. But the true king-post is seen in the case of a dwelling-house in the Nowgong *Bhāgavata.*

This specimen is interesting since it shows a huge Chaitya window resting on two columns. Since it is a sectional drawing the roof of the building must have been barrel vaulted. The roof truss is rather unusual. Two separate horizontal beams are attached to the corner columns and they span only 2/3 of the area bearing a gap in between. To them are attached two vertical posts reaching upto the frame of Chaitya window. At half the height of the Chaitya window two horizontal beams radiate outwards from the post and fix them with the Chaitya window. A litttle higher up a horizontal beam joins the two main posts and it in turn supports the king-post. This unusual and intricate roof thus is designed perhaps to support the wide span of the hall. In China too,

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the depth of building was restricted by the length of beams that span its vaults. For this reason, extension of a Chinese building is usually longitudinal and not transverse. But if additional depth is desired it can be secured by multiplying the longitudinal collonades. Larger halls often have two longitudinal rows of columns within, so dividing the interiors into three bays of depth comprising a large central chanel and two aisles. These extra colonnades are all tied to the wall columns by means of transverse tie-beams.[14] The illustration described above shows exactly the same plan but here the members of the longitudinal collonades do not reach the ground but are attached to the roof vault by means of tie beams. The actual king post has been used for the Kirtanghar roof truss of Kamalābārī Satra as well. The *Fatiyah-i-Ibriyah*, a 17th century Muslim account of Assam emphasies the fact that the houses of Garhgaon were very long as well as spacious. This also shows that the houses in Assam were definitely long which was the result of construction methods identifal with the Chinese.

"The screen-wall being incapable of bearing heavy loads, roof must be carried by the heads of the column. Transverse wooden beams, spanning the nave of the hall, are tennoned into or through the upper parts of each facing pair of columns in the same way and usually at the same level as are the tie-beams comprising the false architrave...Chinese buildings are thus vaulted according to the column and beam principle....In China with its seasonal rain-fall in summer, roofs are invariably high pitched in order to provide a run-off for rainwater. To secure a steep roof slope the long axis of the roof at the ridge-beam must be raised well above the level at the eaves by means of an internal arrangement of beams forming the roof".[15] All that has been said about the Chinese roof holds good for their Assamese counterparts. A comparison of the illustrations from the Nowgong *Bhāgavata*[16] and the Ying Tsao Fa shih[17] and the diagram of the Kamalābārī Satra's Kirtanghar[18] will reveal the truth.

The Assamese and the Chinese roof-trusses agree with each other in as far as they repeat on a smaller scale the column and beam construction of the main truss. "Each main transverse beam that is to say, carries a pair of short vertical queen-posts or spacing-blocks each placed at about the quater span; and these in turn are made to support shorter transverse beams above. Into this may be socketed another pair of queen posts or spacing blocks, also some distance in and also supporting a transverse beam; in this way the roof-truss rises as a series of steps until the required height is reached at the head of a

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king post standing immediately below the ridge-beam. Intermediate vertical posts are sometimes placed at strategic points along the horizontal member".[19]

The only difference between the Chinese and the Assamese ways of construction of the roof-truss is the position as well as the shape of the king-post. In the miniatures the king-post is generally absent. The highest member below the roof is a small horizontal beam resting on two squat queen posts and the ends of the beam supporting the roof.

In another the members at the place of the king post is an ornamentally carved spacing block.

Other mss. where the same type of architecture is depicted are the *Gīta Govinda*, the *Lava Kushar Yuddha*, the *Rāmāyaṇa Lankā Kānda* and the *Añādipātan*. A better study of the roof types and the materials used for roofing are also gained from the miniatures. We also find that thatched roofs were also shaped like a wide arch of which the corner columns were shorter than those inwards thus giving a vaulted look. Small guard-houses were attached to the imposing dwellings. Every inch of wood used in the interior was painted with vegetal, floral and geometrical designs. More spacious areas were filled with scenes from the epics and the Puranas or with the exploits of the various deties of the Hindu pantheon.

The houses and architectural structures depicted in the *Gīta Govinda*, *Lava Kushar Yuddha* are varied but those in the *Anādipātan* are too conventional to be typical of the period. Thus we have numerous types of thatched roofs. In the illustration in Folio 11 (Rev.) of the *Gīta Govinda* we find a low platform on which the pavillion is built. It appears to be of rammed earth as it is still constructed today. Unlike in China where the rammed arch is held to shape during construction by wood shuttering, which was afterwards removed, in Assam split bamboo fences are used. Usually that low fence is removed while sometimes it is retained. Here in this illustration, the mat like design on the platform perhaps represents the mat-shuttering which was in use in the medieval times too.

Another interesting change in the later mss. we find in the shape of the corner columns that hold the roof. They are very often bent and curved in a myriad way towards the top as in the *Gīta Govinda*, Folio 37. The corner columns and other posts become more slender and tapering with lathe-turned designs made on the various parts of the roof itself and the slender columns. The use of the king-post becomes more common in this period.

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Rectangular wing-like members are vertically fitted to the corner columns and represent the flimsy side walls. They are all in mat or lattice patterns. The earliest such example in Indian architecture is on the carvings of the facade of the Lomasha Rishi cave in Gaya District. This device is technically known as the 'piñjarāh' or 'cage-work', so common in the buildings of upper India as well as the 'meshrebiya' of Egypt and other Islamic countries.[20]

When we come to roofs we find that they are invariably of the thatched type of different shapes. In all cases the thatch is represented by the basket pattern as in the *Lankā Kānda Rāmāyaṇa*, or in groups of three parallel lines. The thatch is painted bright yellow or a dull brown in a realistic way. The house illustrated in the *Gīta Govinda* Folio 11 (Rev.) shows the type known as Bhāñj Ghar in Assamese. The Vaishṇava shrines in the western part of modern Assam still house the deity in a rectangular room with carved roofs of the same pattern as the Ranachandī rock temple at Maibong and call it 'Bhāñj Ghar.' The term Vanga Gṛiha or 'Banga Gṛiha' as used by Buddha Ghosha and from which the English word 'Bungalow' appears to have been derived had been constructed by some scholars as refering to Bengal, the houses of the common people of Bengal being designed with such curved roofs. But apparently the term has been derived from the Bhāñjghar the word 'Bhāñj' meaning bent like the snapped branch of a tree or like the familiar 'Bāng', the curved and bent pole for carrying loads on the shoulders. A 'Bhāñjghar', freshly thatched with the common 'uloo' grass, assumes a golden colour, this being the natural colour of this variety of the thatching grass and it is with reference to the newly thatched 'Bhāñj-ghar' that Buddha Ghosha evidently used the term 'suvarṇa banga gṛiha' while explaining the 'Ardha Yoga' house meant for the occupation of Buddhist monks".[21]

Another interesting point about the buildings of this period is that their high-pitched roofs are invariably topped by decorative finials of wood that are brightly painted. In a region like Assam with a torrential monsoon and frequent hail-storms, terracotta finials could never be used as it is not done even upto this day. Wooden finials are the commonest while tin and brass ones are used today for more ponderous structures. The finials appear to be lathe turned and are usually shaped like a lotus bud as in the *Gīta Govinda* folios, 34 (Rev.) and 42 (Rev.) but half blown lotuses are also to be seen as in the *Rāmāyaṇa Lankā Kānda* Ms. Add folio 5 (Rev.) *Lava Kushar Yuddha* shows a Makara topped roof as in the Rangghar.

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The miniatures from the mss. have also supplied us with ample material for a study of the life and culture of the period. Life was full and happy with a highly developed civilization with all its accessories. Like costume and jwellery, the furniture, modes of conveyance and other accessories of the period were equally varied and were of highly artistic merit. Here too we find that a preponderant use of bamboo, wood and other indigeneous materials. But they were all brightly painted and coated with a film of lacquer. The process of coating a painted surface with lacquer is technically known as Lāh-Chalowā in Assamese. A large variety is also observed in designs of the beautiful brass and bell metal utensils for which western Assam is still famous.

The most important and the common piece of furniture used by the royalty and the gods is the stepped wooden "siṁhāsana" or the throne. It is really a siṁhāsana since the seat is carried by four couchant leonine figures resembling the Chinese dragon to a great degree (*Chitra Bhāgavata*, p. 15; *Gīta Govinda* folio 36 obv.). The dragon as a motif in Chinese art is found as far back as the pre-Han times though by Han times it had become finally established as a motif. The Nowgong *Bhāgavata* also shows dragons with the "fore-paw uplifted in a gesture that has been claimed for western Asia, but it is perfectly established in China by Han times. The body is long, the tail long and convoluted unpatterned patches on the body represent scales; a single wing appears in profile and the neck is long and arched.[22] The head of the Assamese dragon like its Chinese counterpart is also massive with a long muzzle agape and has powerful cannine teeth. The long tongue hangs down. The synthetic nature of Han Dragon, which rapidly became standardized as a national and imperial symbol, did not pass unnoticed by Chinese antiquarians. Wang fu (*c.* 1123 A. D.) dissects it thus : It has nine resemblances or forms, viz. the head of a camel, the horns of a deer, eyes of a rabbit, ears of a cow, neck of a snake belly of a frog, scales of carp, claws of a hawk and palm of a tiger.[23] But the Assamese dragon has no horns, scales and ridges along the back. It is more leonine than serpentine. The other attributes are common. The dragon motif possibly entered Assam along with the Ahoms for the dragon being a symbol of authority and power was adopted by the Swargadeos as the royal seal. It was later Indianised and known as "Siṁha Chāp"[24] or the lion-seal.

Another ensemble that went with the symbols of royalty was the 'chhatra' or the parasol always held above the head of Kaṁsa the king of Mathura. It

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has a long bent handle and a large curved canopy of white. The entire area is embroidered with beautiful scroll patterns in red. The scroll motif, which is accepted of Iranian origin is another trait in Assamese culture. Manuscript writing was an art in which Assam excelled even from the days of Bhāskara Varman. In the illustrations we find ms. boxes with beautiful design and also mss, placed on raised "sāraīs", which is the way sacred mss. are kept even today in the "satras" as well as the Vaishṇava households in Assam. Baskets of bamboo were used for keeping flowers and fans of various designs, mainly a flat and flexible disc made of bamboo or cane attached to a handle were in use. Chauris were used for fanning as well as a symbol of honour and respect for the kings and deities. Bāng or the carrying pole was also used.

Beds, were low with heavy and carved squat legs which were invariably lathe turned. The sides of the beds, divans and similar other seats were carved with lotus-petal designs and were hung with tassels and balls. Above the bed were hung "Chandrātapas" or canopies made of bright cloth often two or three in receding sizes of various colours.

Stools were made in an innumerable variety. Some of the simpler ones dangle bunches of pearls and jwells. The fame of parasols from Assam has been rccorded in the description of the Ābhoga parasol by Bāna in his *Harshacharita.* It was a "family heirloom" derived from Varuṇa".[25] Another type of umbrella used as a sun shade is seen in the illustration of the Vāmana incarnation of Vishṇu from the *Gīta Govinda* ms. It is of a coloured material with a straight handle and golden tassels hanging from the canopy. This perhaps represents the common type of umbrella used for protection against sun and rain.

The other parafernalia of royalty or of good living were a number of brass utensils, lamp stands, insence burners, Śaraīs or deep dish set on a stand used mainly for keeping betel and for offerings to deities. The Baṭā is similar to the Śaraī but has a cover shaped exactly like a Buddhist stūpa and its origin from the Buddhist relic caskets is very evident. The peculiarity of Assamese brass ware is that they are invariably placed on a high stand with an inverted lotus base. Though the usual team of horses consisted of two only, four horses have been depicted drawing the chariot of Meghanāda in the *Lankā Kānda Rāmāyaṇa* ms. Here the Sārathī or the driver is shown sitting upon one of the horses. It is

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doubtful whether chariots of the above description were in use in Assam in the medieval times. But this conventional type of chariot has been depicted in all mss. produced in the Satriya style, beginning from the Nowgong *Bhāgavata* X (1539 A. D.) down to the *Lankā Kānda Rāmāyaṇa* executed during the days of Swargadeo Kamaleśwar Singha (1792-1806 A. D.). There seems to be very little place for doubts that the design of the chariot was only conventional. Horses and elephants were used not only in war (*Lava-Kushar Yuddha*) but were taken out in processions on the occasion of royal marriages (*CB*, 2B). Surprisingly enough, in the Assamese miniatures no boats or similar vessels for water had been depicted. For a predominantly riverine tract like Assam with so many lakes and stretches of water it is unthinkable that boats were not varied. Stools resembled only the hour-glass in shape, while the more intricate ones had lathe turned and carved heads in the shape of fishes. Antlers also appear to have been used as legs of stools as seen in the illustrations.

The upholstry and other furnishing fabric were very richly patterned and brightly coloured. They included pillows, cushions and coverlets for the bed (*Lankā Kānda*; *CB*, 98A).

Modes of conveyance are not varied. They include the traditional chariots used in war as well as by dignitaries, and also the bullock cart. The Bullock cart was commodious and hence was used mainly when women and children were travelling (*CB*, 20 B). They were low, with solid looking wheels with no indication of spokes of any kind and were brightly painted. Sometimes tassels also hung from the sides. Two bullocks were always used and a sort of mud-guard was attached to the two wheels as is even today seen in Punjab. The chariot drawn by one or any number of horses seems to follow the conventional description. It is like a flat board attached to low solid wheels. It had no railings on any sides except a tall lathe turned pole with a bulbous top attached to the front. It served as the mast from which the standard, was fluttered. We are told of the great fleet of Bhāskaravarman with 30,000 vessels from the Copper plate grants. The only reason for not depicting boats seems to be that the peculiarly Krishṇāyaṇa themes offered no chance to do so. Some late and degenerate mss. from Kamarupa like the *Sāhāparī Upākhyān* and the mss. covers from the Nalbari Sanskrit college show boats of very large sizes with pavillions and rowed by a number of men. The *Sāhāparī Upākhyān* shows a barge also.

Weapons and accesseries used in wars can be divided into two groups, the traditional and conventional weapons often used as attributes of dieties and

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the actual weapons contemporeneous with the paintings of the mss. The Nowgong *Bhāgavat* shows the deities Yogamāyā, Vishṇu, Śiva and others with their Āyudhas that are their respective attributes and as conceieved in their Dhyānas. The *Gīta Govinda* gives us an idea of the kind of weapons in use during the late 17th and early 18th centuries. The bow and arrows known as *Dhenu-Kāñda* was the most common while the *Khāndā* and *Bāru* or the sword and shield were as much a necessity. The bow was not like a chord but curved while the sword too was deeply curved and broad at one end. The shield was round and had four crescent or circular designs on it. Whips or Chamathā had a small handle and the long leash was two pronged at the end. The musket, known as the Hiloi was also in common use. Guns of huge sizes were in use in Assam since a long time back and were known as Bartops. The invention of guns and gun powder is attributed to pre-Ahom Assam whence it was introduced into China and the technique in turn spread over the world from China. Long spears with coloured hair attached to the shaft were in use and were known as *Jāthīs*, evidently derived from Sanskrit *Yashṭī*, a staff. Similar spears are in use among the Nagas to this day. A very interesting illustration from the *Lankā Kānda Rāmāyaṇa* shows the kit the soldiers carried in medieval Assam. Two soldiers are shown keeping watch from the battlements of Lankā. Each turret, near which they are posted have four Bartops fixed. Their muzzle and barrels are decorated with carvings and gold in lay work, which was the practice in the Ahom days. The soldiers kept a pot evidently containing drinks, a bufallow horn bugle to be used in the case of alarm and a square leather bag with a flap for closing, evidently containing a little ration or khār, i.e. gunpowder for loading the Bartops. One of them carries the Khāndā-Baru while the other has Dhenu-kāñda.

The large variety of musical instruments illustrated in the mss. show the pride of place music and dancing occupied in the cultural life of medieval Assam. Assam, linked as it had been with the epic character Chitralekhā, the sakhī of Ushā was well known as a seat of the Gandharva-vidyā to Indians of all times. Here the study will be made of both traditional musical instruments and those introduced by the orders of Swargadeo Rudra Singha.

The Nowgong *Bhāgavata* shows in the illustrations the dancing Apsaras and the gods. The orchestra was consisting only of the Mridanga and the Tāls or large brass cymbals. These are the fundamental musical instruments of Assam, with many variations according to shapes and sizes. The cymbals

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are also known as Bhortāl,[26] i. e. Bhutanese cymbals and this name indiretly refers to their place of origin. Similar cymbals are used in the Lamaistic rituals of Bhutan and Tibet with which Assam had connections in all ages as now. Other kinds of drums include the indigeneous Dhol which is carved out of wood unlike the Mṛidanga which as the name suggests is earthen and is shaped on the potter's wheel. The Dhol is cylindrical, there being not much difference in the circumferences of the two ends. This is its fundamental difference with the Mṛidanga. Kāli is a Śahnai-like musical instrument and is usually played in the company of the Dhol, on cleberation of religious or nuptial rites. It is made either of wood or of metal. The scene of the Puṁsavaṇa ceremony of Rāma and Sītā in the *Lava Kushar Yuddha* ms. shows a pair of musicians playing on the same. Large sized drums of the shape of Dhol were generally hung from posts and beaten by drummers to announce a happy occassion. It was known as the Jayadhola. The Śaṁkha or the conch shell was used both in ritual and also in orchestras.

The following lines from mediaeval Assamese poetry give us an idea of the large variety of musical instruments in use.

"Śaṁkhya ghantā dhāk dhol Śingā Kali leherī Jaykali, Mabena bajāwe maharī. Khol Karatāla bawe Nāgārā Mridanga Dotārā, Sārindā, Bāñhī, rabab upānga Rām-tal, Rām-bīnā, bāwe', bara-khāñkha Saptaswara Kalandar bajāwe asankhya".

One of the Bargeets of Mādhavadeva of the 16th century gives the following list of which many have been identified in the paintings. They are Murjas, Rudravīṇā, Kavilasha or Kapilash (a kind of stringed instrument), Vipanchi, Sarod (Serenda), Swarmandal, Mandirā and the Upānga. Of these the Upānga has not been indentified.

The paintings being mainly Krishṇāyana in theme many kinds of flutes and horns used by Krishṇa and the Gopas have been shown. The commonest were the bamboo flutes of various lengths. About 12 inches in length is the veṇu. The Murlī is about three feet in length and is held side ways.[27] The Murli is also seen in the "pāṭās" of an undentified ms. from Goalpara, now in the Gauhati University Library. All these instruments were known by the common term Bāñhī in Assamese which means a flute. Some-times Bāñhīs were made also of brass. The bamboo flute is supposed to have entered India through Assam from China by 638 A. D. We find from Yuwan Chwang's accounts that a musical piece of Chinese origin had become popular in Kamarupa for some time when he visited the country. The piece was known

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as the "music of the conquest of Tsin Wang of Mahā Chīna". This points out to the intimate intercourse that existed between China and the eastern countries of India.[28] The other important accessory of the Gopas is the Pepā or the Śingā. Śingā as the name suggests is made from bufallow horn. At the narrow end of the horn was inserted a small piece of reed with a slit to produce the sound.[29]

When we come to stringed instruments we are faced with a variety so long from the elementary Ektārā or Doṭārā to the intricate and highly developed Veeṇās of many types. The Ektārā is the most elementary form of such instrument consisting only of one string attached to the shaft with a hollow half gourd at one end. Tokari is a similar instrument but has two gourds at the same side of the shaft and a Makara mukha at one end of it. The Nowgong *Bhāgavata* has in the scene of an orchestra played by the celestial damsels a number of Veeṇas of large sizes and intricate designs. But they are all played by plucking and not with a bow. Those that are played on with a bow are known as Bin in Assamese. One of these has been depicted in the *Gīta Govinda* ms. A more developed form of it is shown in the Pāṭās of the unidentified ms. from Goalpara at the Gauhati University Library. Its shape resembles that of an Esrāj though shorter in length. It is the Sārindā of the Assamese and the Serjā of the Bodo people, and resembles also the Sarod.

A little historical fact but of great importance is attached to the use of Pakhwāz in Assam. It was introduced in the court of Assam by Swargadeo Rudra Singha (1696-1714. D.) along with the Mughal court dress of the seventeenth century.

About the dances we do not have as much detailed illustrations from the mss. as we would expect of products from a region so famous for its classical well as folk dances. The commonest variety, i. e. of the Apsarās and the Devas shows the Satriya style with its peculiar and typical mudrās. The dancers always stand with feet apart and the knees bent a little as in the Kathākalī dance of Kerala. The Satriya school is a provincial variety of the type of Hindu dance with a close affinity with the Kathak of North India. It is the product of the genius of Śankaradeva, the artist saint of 16th century Assam. It is known as the Satriya style because it was practised and developed mainly in the Vaishṇava Satras of Assam. But it reflects in it the traits of Devadāsī dance of Kāmrūpa which has a much older history. In paintings with a sublime theme it is but natural that the folk dances are not represented. The Nowgong *Bhāgavata* and the *Gīta Govinda* also have illustrations which show

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the Rāsa dance. It is shown as a circular dance with a large ring formed by the dancers, one male and one female, alternating holding hands and going round and round. The unidentified pata from Goalpara too shows this dance.

The culture and life during the Tungkhungiyā Golden Age have been fully presented in the illustrations of the following Mss. viz :

(a) *Śaṁkhachūḍa Vadha*
(b) *Hastividyārṇava*
(c) *Dharma Purāṇa*
(d) *Bhāgavata* Book VI last folio
(e) *Kumāra Haraṇa*

} 1714-44 A. D.

(f) *Darrang Rāj Vaṁśāvalī* (1791 A. D.)

There is grandeur and splendour in every sphere of life in Assam. The zeal for recreating, however, in miniature, the rich metropolitan life of Delhi, inspired Rudra Singha to introduce not only new modes of court dress but also, new musical instruments, games and pastimes and his sons and their consorts vied with each other in their patronage of art and architecture, music and dancing and also literature.

The greatest change is seen in the sphere of architecture. The illustrations show and are corroborated by references in the various *Burañjīs* that solid masonry architecture takes the place of the fine and gaudy wooden buildings of the traditional type. Buildings were made of many stories, were surrounded by walls and were decorated by towers, balconies and terraces. We shall first take up the palace architecture as illustrated mainly in the *Hastividyāṇava.* Temple architecture and secular architecture like that of Śilasākos or masonry bridges get a fillip from the days of Gadādhar Singha alias Chāo Shupātpha (1681-1695 A.D.). He had the structural temple built at Umānanda, an island pilgrimage near Gauhati in 1694 A. D.[30]

The characteristics of the architecture are that they are ponderous masonry structures painted white while the outside is usually red. The extant buildings in ruins from Sibsagar, Nazira and Gaurisagar also testify to the illustrations. The *Hastividyārṇava* shows the palace in full view in folio 80 (Rev.) which is many stories high and has a rectangular plan while the pavillions on the top are usually hexagonal with a flat roof surrounded by a low balustrade. Folio 160 (Rev) shows some buildings which are the palaces of contemporaries of Śiva Singha. They give an idea of the types of buildings of the period. There is invariably a small pavillion on the topmost terrace with a 'Bhāñjghar' tvpe of roof and is topped by a golden finial. Long

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over hanging 'chajjās' or sun shades are a peculiarity of the buildings of this group. The region above the 'chajjā' has a band of decorations. The doors and windows are either rectangular or arched. Sometimes the trifoil or pentafoil arch is also seen in place of a lintel. The palace is surrounded by a wall of masonry structure and red in colour like the buildings. There is always some space on each succeeding terrace around the structure. The plinth is in two tiers and has moulding and diamond shaped designs on it. The entire palace precint is walled up and there are gate-houses of Bāṭa-Chorās guarded by sentries. Two small towers flank the main Bāṭ-Chorā and huge drums are kept there for use as signals as to be seen in the *Hasti-vidyārṇava* folio 163 (Rev.). The Bāṭ-Chorās have gabled sloping roofs over them.

A closer view of the living quarters of the palace is offered in the *Hasti-vidyārṇava* and the *Saṅkhachūḍavadha*. The latter is a single storied structure with a flat roof and wide projecting 'chajjās. The vestibule is a deep shady one with many small niches with trifoil arches on the walls. In the former illustration too we find these niches or 'Tākhs' as they are technically known but in this case red and blue, dicanters, Kujās and goblets of blown glass are arranged and displayed. The Talātal-ghar of Sibsagar which is the palace built by Rājeśwara Singh (1782-1786 A. D.) also has such niches in the living quarters. The *Śaṅkachūḍvadha* shows that gabled porticos were also attached to the flat roofed living quarters evidently to break the monotony.

Enamelled tiles, usually hexagonal in shape, with designs on them, were used to pave the terraces around the pavillions on the topmost storey. They were either blue with gold spots on them (*Śaṅkhachūḍavadha*, folio 114. Rev.) or plain green ones as in *Hastividyārṇava*, folio 97 Rev.

In the palace skyline as also in case of the temples we come across a peculiar shaped dome. This kind of dome is common in the late medieval architecture of Assam and R. M. Nath calls it the Nīlāchala type of dome.[31] His contentions are that it should be called the Nīlāchala type because the most important and the earliest examples of this type of domes are found in the Śikhara over the Kāmākhyā temple (1565 A. D.) situated on the Nīlāchala hills $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of Gauhati. But this type is not confined to Assam only, for, we find such domes on the temples of Bankura and Kalighat in West Bengal.[32] and even as far west as Ramgarh in the Hazaribagh district of Bihar. The germ of this type of a dome is already seen in the Siddheśvarī temple of the

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Kāmarūpa-Pāla period in the village of Sualkuchi 18 miles to the west of Gauhati. A description of the dome of the Kāmākhyā temple will hold good for all examples of this group. "As a dome it is not full fledged like those from the late medieval temples of Gujrat and Rajasthan, whereas it cannot be called a a true curvilinear Śikhara of the Nāgara type. The base of the Mūlamānjarī is sixteen sided and the sides rise up almost vertically with very little tendency towards converging to the centre in giving it the shape of a dome. This process continues upto the middle of the Mūlamāñjarī after attaining which there is seen a sudden tendency towards converging and attaining high till the śikhara is complete. The śikhra is essentially a dome rather than a pure Nāgara type śikhara. Another distinguishing feature of the dome is that about twenty projecting horizontal bands decorate the Mūlamañjarī from the base upto the Skandha of the Śikhar. This reminds one of the wooden spire of the Rathas of Lord Jagannātha and of wooden architecture of an epoch gone by. On the whole the Mūlamañjarī appears to be a structural prototype of a wodden dome. ."[83] The earliest temple with such a dome to be built during the Tunkhungiyā period is the Umānanda temple constructed by Gadadhar Singha (1694 A. D.). The *Hastividyārṇava* shows this type of dome. In the same ms. we come across another novel type of dome. It is similar in every respect to the usual Nīlāchala type but is painted green instead of white and has downward pointing leaf patterns all over giving it the look of the dome of the Parṇakuṭira or Kuṭāgāra type of hut with a roof of leaves. This temple could not be identified. The finial of these domes are always a golden lotus bud supported over a number of cushion-like members.

The Cholang ghar or the court of the Āhom kings was a hall, more a pavillion with many massive columns supporting the roof. From its very flimsy appearance it seems to be made of wood and the *Fatiyah-i-Ibriya* too testifies to it. The roof is flat but has wide 'chajjās'. In the *Saṅkhachuḍavadha* ms. folio 120 (Rev.) Gadādhar Singha and Rudra Singha are shown holding court in it.

The minor building of the day illustrated in the mss. is the Hātiśāl *Hastividyārnava* folio 147 obv. and rev.) or the elephant stable. It is large, but similar in structure to the Cholang ghar.

The Darrang *Rājavaṁśāvalī* (1791 A.D.) shows the court of Nara Nārāyaṇa and in the illustration on folio 48 (obv.) an interesting architectural style is found. The roof of a similar type is placed in front of it. The arches of the building are very wide and cinque-foil. The roof of the section

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at the back of the hall is flat with the usual wide 'chajjās. The Bhāñj ghar type of roof was very popular with the Koch rulers as we find from the fine temples of goddess Raṇa Chandī at Khaspur, the capital of the Kachari kings. This is due to a closer contact with the refinement of the Āhom court from the days of Rudra Singha.

Shops and stalls, (*Dharmapurāṇa* folio 53 obv.), cottage (*Śaṅkhachuḍa vadha* Folio 19 obv. 37 obv.) and pavillions (*Saṅkhachhūḍavadha* Folio 54, obv.) were made of the indigenous material like wood and bamboo and hence were made with sloping roofs to withstand the heavy rains of Assam. Construction of Śilsākos (*Dharampurāṇa* F. 103 Rev). or masonry bridges over rivers were very common in the Tungkhungiyā period and Gadādhar Singha and Rudra Singha bridged the rivers Dijoi and Nāmdāng and Dimou respectively. Excavation of tanks which almost every Swargadeo undertook, has been illustrated in the same ms. (F. 95 obv). Gardening and rearing of various flowering trees and plants was also popular and the palace had a beautiful garden (*Hastividyārṇava*, 106).

The life at the Āhom court has been very well depicted in the mss. Upto the time of Rudra Singha we do not find the queen sitting in the court with the king. All the officials and Dāngariās were seated in particular places of the Cholang and the utmost formalities and courtesies were maintained among the courtiers. A great deal of importance was laid on the position and the resulting privileges of the various grades of the courtiers. But with Śiva Singha the queens are always represented in the court. This was due to the change in the position of the queen from Phuleshwarī onwards who became the defacto rulers and were known as the "Barrajā" or the greaterking. This was to ward off the evil influences of the Chatarabhanga-Yoga upon Śiva Singha.[34] In the train of the queen women also thronged the court as seen in the illustrations viz., *Bhagavata*, VI folio 185 obv. etc.

Contacts with northern India and consequently with the Europeans settled in Bengal were greater during the reign of Śiva Singha. Folio 38 of the *Hastividyārṇava* shows the important event of the first Europeans being presented to Śiva Singha who made presents to him. The *Āhom Burañjī* has recorded this ocassion in the following words. "The one Mussalman came to our country. His name was Ramsha. Three Firingis, Gudimbill, Distirbill and Mister Bill came with Ramsha. In the month of Dinkam (puh, पौष) the king came out to the principal gate of Rangpur to meet the Firingis. The three Firingis paid their respects to the king falling prostrate at his feet and offered him five

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packets of needles, two sarais (stands) for keeping in betelnuts and two blankets.[35] This took place in the year Lakni Kashen, i.e. in 1739 A.D.

The grandeur of the court was reflected in the procession of the king, queen and the Dāngarīas. The *Bhāgavata* Book VI (folio 185 Rev.) shows one of the processions when the queen, or the Barkuañrī also went out in state with the king. They are carried in an enoromous Dolā or litter with two separate boxes, the one at the head being occupied by the king while in the other one sit Ambikā Devī and the boy prince Tipām Rajā. The Dola is beautifully painted with lacquer work. A large number of attendants or Ligirās and Ligirīs follow with the body guards. To add to the grandeur and gaity of the occasion-a team of male dancers are accompanied by a team of Gāyans and Bāyans, i.e. vocalists and instrumentalists. A man walking beside the Dolā holds the royal umbrella over the king while another has the Ārwān or the sun shade.

The Ārwān was the Āhom insignia of authority which could be used only by the king, the Bargohāin, the Burāgohain and the Barpatra Gohain and the three wardens of the marches, viz. Sadiākhowā, Marangīkhowā and the Salāl Gohains. It was circular in shape and made of wickerwork covered with an embroidered cotton or silk case. Some distinctions were made between the Ārwān of the monarch and of his Gohains. The Āhom royal colour was white.[36] This white case was introduced by Swargādeo Sutyingphā in the year 1652 A.D., for protection against the sun. The Dāngarīyās were ordered to tie a Gamochā or scarf at the middle of the long handle of the Ārwān to distinguish them from the king.[37]

Other typical scenes of processions are seen in the *Hastividyārṇava* ms. The king sometimes drives the elephant himself and also rode in horse-drawn carriages (folio 150 Rev.). The carriages were brightly painted with a curved roof and hung with curtains. In another we find one of the noblemen riding on an elepahant in a grand procession. He sits in a howdah on a gorgeously caparisoned elephant preceded by standard bearing cavaliers and followed by foot men.

The elephants which were so useful in those days with no modern technological developments were well cared for and many rites both Hindu and Āhom were practised for their wellbeing (*Hastividyārṇava*, Folio 51 obv. 65 obv. 67 Rev., 71 Rev. and 154 Rev.). Numerous but specified animals, birds and fishes were sacrificed and offered along with wine for the purpose. Even the elephant's "Pratima" or painting was worshipped.

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The conversion of the Tungkhungias to Śāktism under Kṛishṇarāma Bhaṭṭāchārya resulted in the performance of the Dūrgā pūjā and the worship of the tutelary deity Bhavānī by the king and the queen. Numerous gifts were made to Brahmins on such occassions (*Hastividyārṇava*, folio 162 obv.).

The lighter side of the Āhom court life, full of gay musical soirees and dance performances are reflected in the paintings of *Hastividyārṇava* folios 138 obv., 80 obv. respectively. These were introduced during the days of Rudra Singha.

But the king and the people were, as the *Hastividyārṇava* shows, also interested in manly sports like falconry, gladiatorial bouts and fights between different animals and reptiles. We get detailed descripion of these sports in the *Deodhāi* Assam Buraṅjī. In folio 115 (obv.) of the *Hastividyārṇava* we find the king enjoying buffalo and elephant fights. Mahauts are goading elephants and drummers are exciting the beasts by a violent beating of drums. The fight between an elephant and a buffalo was introduced by Rudra Singha in place of the fight between buffalows only.[38] Falconry was another popular sport as found in the *Asamar Padya Burañjī*, and also illustrated in Folio 80 (Rev.) of the *Hastividyāraṇva*. The *Deodhāi Asam Burañjī* gives its details in the following lines. "The Ahom kings maintained regular aviaries for the training of hawks. They were known as Charaī-chāngs and there was a well organised khel or guild connected with this royal pastime with the usual gradation of officers such as Śenchowā Baruā and Senchowā Barā. Birds trained for the persuit of games were let loose by their trainers and the contest took place in etherial heights. The Śenchowās or the aviarists spread a cloth to receive the victorious falcon dropping down with its beak fixed in the bosom of its game. The trainers of the victorious birds were rewarded by the monarch and his nobles, while in the event of the birds' taking to flight without entering into any contest their trainers were punished with heavy blows on their backs.[39]

The *Tungkhungiyā Burañjī* itself does not possess any illustrations. But the box it contains has seventeen illustrations in colour giving us a peep into the life of the aristocracy during our period and even as late as 1804-1806 A. D., when the *Burañjī* was written. "The pictures on the four sides depict various types of Nāgarikas or fashionable persons of both sexes engaged in love-making or brooding over their separation from their paramours or recreating themselves with a game of chess, (D. 115a) or a musical soiree or the placid funs of the hubble bubble.[40] Gladiatorial fights known as Māljuj and dance performances by female dancers were equally popular with the royal family as we find

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from the *Hastividyārṇava* folios 138 Rev. and obv. respectively. There was a rise in the general standard of living at least of the royalty and the noblity. But the nobility were greatly restricted in their use of luxury goods for which royal sanction were necessary.[41] Not much change seems to have entered the general way of life of the Āhom royal family but an increased use of gold utensils like Maīhāng or stands for betel, Bāns or goblets and pāchis or baskets, charias or vessels and Jarā or the water pot is noticed. Perīs or boxes usually painted with lacquer were carved out of blocks of wood.[42] Glassware of blue and red also became popular (*Hastividyārṇava* Folio 137 Rev.). Doors and windows were hung with multicoloured and striped brocade curtains as found from the paintings. Balconies from where the royal family gave audience were hung with curtains and carpets were spread over the balustrade on which they rested their arms.

Thrones whether of kings or for icons (*Śankhachūḍa vadha* folio 83 obv. 108 Rev.) were made in many tiers and were brightly painted in arabesque and diamond designs. The use of chair like pieces of furniture are noticed in the *Darrang Rāj Vaṁśāvalī*, folio 25 obv. which also shows that the "huqqa" with long pipes was used by the kings in court atleast in the Koch principality of Darrang. It also shows the use of very long bows of larger than human height in use among the Koch army. King Śiva Singha, whenever he appeared formally, always carried a bow and arrow as found from his numerous portraits. Large patterned pillows known as the Bar-gāru were used as backrest when sitting in court or in the interiors (*Śaṅkhachūḍa vadha*, Folio 114 Rev.). Beds were very low and the legs were well carved. The coverlets were patterned and coloured and had ample frills along the edges (*Śaṅkhachūḍa vadha*, 114 Rev.). From the scenes of Tulasī's toilet in the same ms. we find that Āltā or Lac dye was applied to the feet (*Śaṅkhachūḍa vadha*, 54 Rev.) while hand mirrors or the Dāpon and bowls of Sindura, perfume sprinklers and fresh flowers were the accessories of a lady's toilet, *Śaṅkhacūḍa vadha*, 38 obv. But the unsophisticated village women carried on as usual with their chores as we see in the *Dharmapurāṇa* while going to the river to fill vessels of water was both a task and fun as we find from the illustration of the Gopis of Vṛindāvan from the *Saṅkhachūḍa vadha* Ms. Folio 108 obv.

With the end of the Tungkhungiyā dynasty the history of an independent and prosperous Assam ends. But the robustness of the days of Rudra Singha and the grandeur of the days of Śiva Singha and his three consorts were never recreated even by their immediate successors.

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VEDIC EVIDENCE ON BETEL-EATING

PRITHVI K. AGRAWALA

The antiquity of *Pān* or betel-eating is often believed to go back not before the first-second cent. A. D. Prof. P. K. Gode has contributed about a dozen very valuable studies on various aspects of *Tāmbūla* or *Pān.*[1] The conclusions drawn by an authority of no less a rank than Prof. Gode from his devoted studies over a period of some ten years on this important custom of Indian social life are of exceptional academic value.[2] But he does not appear to have found any literary evidence which would tend to show that betel-chewing was prevalent in India, and also anywhere else outside India, before the Christian era. Sometimes it is believed that this custom has been handed down from the life of the aboriginal inhabitants of India.[3] But very wide popularity of this social fashion suggests, in all likelihood, a very high antiquity for betel-chewing also in the Aryan tradition. The literary evidence which is being put forth here for consideration of scholars, perhaps for the first time in the context of *Tāmbūla* or *Pān*, would reveal this practice at least going back in antiquity to the period of later Vedic Saṁhitas and Brāhmaṇas.

The most significant of the passages to shed some light on the betel-chewing in Vedic period is afforded by the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* as follows : *etat khalu vai parṇasya sāraṃ yat khadiraḥ* (III. 9. 3). There can be nothing obscure as to the literal meaning of this statement. But of exceptional implication are perhaps the two terms, *parṇa* and *khadira*. Firstly may be given an easy or direct translation retaining these two words : "That indeed is the pith (or essence, or, main ingredient) of *parṇa* which is *khadira*." *Khadira*, Acacia Catechu, undoubtedly refers to the well known common ingredient of Tāmbūla widely used even to-day under the name '*khair*', '*khayar*', or '*katthā*' (in northern India), being an extract of the Khadira tree. In fact the words '*khair*' and 'khayar' are derived from Skt. *khadira*.

The word *parṇa* here seems to indicate not a simple 'leaf' or a leaf or wood of the *palāśa* (Butea Frondosa) tree alone, as is understood and explained commonly by scholars in most of the usages of this word *parṇa* in Vedic texts. At least in this present text, *parṇa* is presumably to be understood as implying also that meaning which is signified by the later Prakrit and vernacular word '*pān*', a leaf of betel, derived from *parṇa*. There can hardly be two opinions as

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to the derivation of the word '*pān*' from Skt. *parṇa*. Thus, this text of the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* presusumbly has some bearing on the use and antiquity of *pān* (*parṇa*)-eating in the later Vedic period. If so, the extract of *Khadira* was also then already the main ingredient of a betel-leaf (*pān, tāmbūla*) in the Vedic period, and the same custom prevails till to-day.

But the word *parṇa* in the above cited passage of the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* can hardly be taken to exclude the meaning of *parṇa* as *palāśa* which is understood by the Vedic interpreters, modern as well as scholiasts. For it is the context of the wood of the sacrificial stakes which are stated here to be of the *parṇa, khadira* and other timbers. Thus the primary meaning of *parṇa* as *palāśa* (Butea Frondosa) is undoubtedly there. The making of *yūpas* can in no way suit the exclusive meaning of *pān* (i.e. *tāmbūla-vallī, Nāga-valli*) creeper (Piper Betel). To avoid any confusion or forced meaning, the relevant passage may be given here in further details "....*gāyatro hi yūpo, gāyatryā vai patantyā yatra parṇaṁ parā-patat tataḥ parṇo' jāyata, tasmāt parṇamaya etat khalu vai parṇasya sāraṁ yat khadiras tasmāt khādiraḥ....*" (III. 9.3).

Thus the first meaning of *parṇa* must be taken as denoting a timber tree, which is *palāsa* (Butea Frondosa).[4] Then how comes the meaning of *pān* ? For this we should however see what is by implication indicated by the Brāhmaṇa writer. To a Brāhmaṇa writer the express explanation which occurred for relating *parṇa* (as *palāśa*) with *khadira* in the context of Yūpas fashioned out of their wood, was by applying double entendre to the word *parṇa*. This type of play on words for establishing symbolical correlation between two or more ideas or objects is commonly followed in the Brāhmaṇa exegesis. Thus to comment on the symbolical relationship of *parṇa* (=*palāśa*) and *khadira* the express reference by the Brāhmaṇa thinker appears to have been made to the relationship of *parṇa* (= *pān*, betel-leaf) and *khadira* (= the extract of *khayr*) in the betel chewing context, which custom presumably was known during the time of the Saṁhitā.

Perhaps a double meaning of the same kind is implied for *parṇa* by other Saṁhitā and Brāhmaṇa texts where *parṇa* is stated to be a fallen '*parṇa*' or leaf of the Soma plant : "*tṛitiyasyāmito divi soma āsīt, taṁ gāyatryāharat, tasya* (= *somasya*) *parṇamachchhidyat, tat parṇobhavat, tat parṇasya parṇatvam* (*Taittirīya Sam.* III. 5.7.1).[5] On one hand, the word *parṇa* commonly denoted the *palāśa* tree, but at the same time in a context such as this, it seems to have denoted also a kind of 'leaf' (i. e. *parṇa* for *pān*) that shared the nature and flavour of Soma, the divine draught. This same passage of the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, including its occurrence in other texts,[6] celebrating the *parṇa* as sharing the nature of Soma, also gives the origin of the *khadira*, saying that the fluid (*rasa*), which oozed out

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from the severed head of Gāyatrī who was bringing Soma to the earth, having fallen and entered the earth became *khadira*.[7] Thus, the occurrence of *parṇa* and *khadira* in collocation in contexts where their origin is connected with the Soma legend, perhaps tends to show that an aspect of their usage as tasteful items of eating was known to the later Vedic writers.

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AUCKLAND COLVIN'S HOSTILITY TOWARDS THE CONGRESS

J. P. MISRA

Soon after Auckland Colvin took over as the Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Provinces (later known as U. P.) in the early months of 1888 he directed his attention to the activities of the Indian National Congress which was due to hold its next annual session at Allahabad towards the close of the year. Colvin's criticisms of the working and the objectives of the Congress, in its early years of existence, represent an alien bureaucracy's unsympathetic, suspicious and often astonished reaction to the Indian nationalists demands for a larger share in government. The Lieutenant Governor who had entered the Indian Civil Service in 1858 and rose to the position of Finance Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council during 1883-1888, has been regarded as one of "the ablest of Indian Civilians."[1] But he was a most uncompromising critic of the Congress. He was probably the first senior civil servant who attacked the Congress and its policies openly and "declared himself strongly on the anti-Congress side".[2] It would be useful to examine how he "firmly determined to stand against it"[3] and strongly impressed upon the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, to denounce the nationalist body.

Much of the difficulty in analysing the British policy towards the Congress arises because of the commonly held view that Differin was intimately associated with the inauguration of the Congress. It has been asserted that his approval was obtained at the time of the inception of this organisation and it was "his own pet child".[4] This "myth about the origin of the Congress"[5] is not borne out by any close examination of the private papers of the Viceroy. Nowhere did the Viceroy claim his part in the birth of the Congress and there is no positive proof for giving him any credit for such a role. Dr. S. Gopal has very rightly pointed out that "Dufferin has often been given the credit for creating the Congress. This is undeserved."[6] The fact is that Defferin was cautious from the very beginning. He informed the Governor of Bombay in May 1885 that the "functions of such an assembly must of necessity consist in formulating demands which it would be impossible to grant."[7] In April 1886 the Viceroy wrote to the Secretary of State that "the stirring of political life and ambition was making the task of administering India more and more

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difficult."[8] This comment of the Viceroy soon after the first session of the Congress explains his misgivings towards this political body from its very inception. He made similar comments after the Second session of the Congress held at Calcutta. His opinion was "that the character of the discussions were very childish and its resolutions were extravagant."[9] In September 1887 Dufferin complained that "a party disaffected to our rule was growing in the country."[10] These passages have been given to explain that Dufferin was sceptical towards the Congress from the very beginning.

It was in this setting that Auckland Colvin outlined his approach towards the Congress. He had been in close touch with the official thinking in his capacity as the member of the Viceroy's Council. Now that he had been given a separate charge in a province where the Congress was due to hold its session in December 1888 he had before him the time and the opportunity to come forward with his own views about the upsurge of national movement in the country.

Soon after taking over charge in Feb. 1888, the Lieutenant Governor informed his official chief that "as the year goes on there will be good deal of talk about the Congress in these Provinces."[11] He decided to gear up the provincial machinery to keep him informed about the Congress meetings in the province.

In his correspondence with the Viceroy Colvin invariably stressed the disloyalty and inflammatory character of the Congress propaganda. "Pamphlets and Catechisms of a political nature," he informed the Viceroy, "were being circulated "wholesale about these provinces by an organization like the Congress."[12] In this regard he gave the instance of two pamphlets "Catechism of the Indian National Congress" and "A Conversation between Fariduddin and Ram Baksh" which had been circulated in thousands. Even though these pamphlets had been issued to popularise the Congress programmes the Lieutenant Governor's view was that efforts were being made "undisguisedly to bring the Government of India under attack."[13] He was alarmed at the "abuses" of the Congress. He immediately ordered the Inspector General of Police to carefully watch the activities of the supporters of the Congress and examine the effect of the pamphlets on the people. He directed the local authorities to "forbid" any further circulation of pamphlets of political nature as they were likely to lead to "radical misconceptions."[14]

Auckland Colvin was deliberately exaggerating the danger of political propaganda. He strove hard to keep a close watch over the "centres and

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inner centres" being organised within the province, and complained that "strange principles were daily preached to people by a great variety of agents of unknown character and antecedents." All this did not have the desired effect on the Governor General for much to the annoyance of the Lieutenant Governor he was not permitted to block any such meetings within the province.

From the very outset Colvin was emphatically against the Congress demand for constitutional changes. His view was that the Western political institutions could not be adopted in India without first transforming its social, economic and intellectual traditions. He stressed the point that the vast masses of the people of India were "as much out of harmony with the political atmosphere breathed by us of English birth as an elephant would be out of his elements in Scotch mists." The burden of his argument was that "transformations of vast proportions would have to occur before India could hope to acquire Western political forms of behaviour."[16]

Auckland Colvin openly charged that the Congress had "chosen their instruments badly".[17] He struck out against the Congress programme of ignoring social problems in the following words. "They have scrupulously held aloof from the movement in favour of remarriage of widows, of the abolition of infant marriages or from advocating any social reform whatever." He was critical of the Congress for doing nothing in removing "social obstacles in the progress of new political ideas."[18]

In the closing decades of the nineteenth century the British civil servants repeatedly put forward the view that there was "no Indian nation, no people of India."[19] Voicing this logic Colvin also observed: "The theory of a national movement is necessarily absurd in India." While condemning the growth of nationalism in the country he invariably harped on the religious divisions in India. His mischievous remark was as follows: "the attitude of the Muhammedans in these provinces will, in my judgment, be bitterly hostile to Congress which they regard as a claim for Hindu supremacy." Colvin was repeating the convenient official thinking that the Muslims would oppose the Congress. He thought that their "irritation" would increase to such an extent that careful police arrangements would become necessary to prevent disturbances during the next Congress session at Allahabad.[20] The fear, of course, did not prove real. But this can serve as an instance to show how the British civil servants often exaggerated the differences between the two communities to serve their imperial ends.

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Colvin worked untiringly to keep alive the position to the Congress. Every encouragement was given to those groups who were against the Congress due to their own self interests or because they had certain misgivings about it. When a pamphlet enitled "Democracy not Suited to India" was published in the name of Raja of Bhinga A. O. Hume charged openly that it was the work of some British official while one of the prominent newspapers wrote that it was written at the "dictation" of A. Colvin.[21] The official minute, which he wrote later, was another attempt to show that "powerful landed proprietors" were opposed to the Congress as it was giving prominence "to a class of men of slender stock of achievements."[22] The British officials did their best to encourage the powerful landlords and other feudal elements to reassert their position. Raja Shiva Prasad of Banaras came forword and created a mild stir in the Allahabad session by denouncing the Congress programmes.

Auckland Colvin made a laborious attempt to analyse the class composition of the Congress in order to prove that the growing political activity in the country was the work of some of the new classes which were quite a few in number. He used the term "the Literary Party" for "that section of the native society which is most desirous of imitating English models" and "was mainly and prominently the product of literary education." The Lieutenant Governor's observation was that several barristers, pleaders and merchants had joined hands with these "literary classes" in establishing the Congress and making it active. While minimising the impact of these groups he pointed out that "the immense majority of the people is at present either indifferent to the new ideas or is actively hostile to them." Colvin was aware of the fact that his analysis of the political participation of various groups was not based on any convincing facts. So he decided to put forward at least one concrete "proof" by examining the list of the delegates of the 1888 session from the N. W. Provinces. He drew up a detailed review of 587 delegates and pointed out there were 63 "men of note" 217 pleaders, 12 editors had taken part in it. He described the rest of the provincial delegates as "miscellaneous" as the district officers had not been able to ascertain their social status. Colvin took pains to assert that many of the delegates were "obscure men" who could not carry people with them. His conclusion was that men of "character, standing and fortune"[23] had held aloof. It is thus obvious that Colvin's analysis was meant to indicate that the Congress did not enjoy the support of the influential section of the people. It was part of his compaign to belittle the newly established institution.

Auckland Colvin followed the traditional British policy of ruling India with the help of the conservative classes "in whose hands actually lie the great

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influence which still hold and direct native public opinion."[24] The Goverment of India was considering proposals of constitutional reforms at this time. The Lieutenant Governor voiced his opposition to any such attempts as his fear was that this was "more likely to stimulate the appetite of those who ask for change." Explaining his stand further he opined : "To establish changes in the Councils would satisfy a few pleaders, a few Bengali judges, and their immediate followers but would vex and disgust the whole of Oudh, the whole of the Muhammedan community, whether in Oudh or the North-West, and while proving a source of annoyance and discontent to the vast majority of the Hindu community in the North-West would seem to them an innovation introduced at the demand of a small section whose inexplicable influence over the Government must furnish growing ground for alarm."[25] This is enough to indicate how he looked at the contemporary political situation. Even his friend and erstwhile colleague, George Chesney, confessed that "his present attitude of conservatism surprises me."[26]

There were two courses open to Colvin. The first course was to keep a close watch over the activities of the Indian National Congress and wait for events, depending upon the way this organisation moved in future. The other course was to take immediate action and to announce Government's opposition to the political activity of the Indian National Congress. A. Colvin was a believer in the latter policy and did his best to encourage the Viceroy to denounce the nationalist organisation.

Colvin openly pleaded that the Indian National Congress should not be allowed to gain ground. His policy was to tarnish, its image, to curb its activities and to declare openly the displeasure of the Government. He resented A. O. Hume's speech of 30th April 1888 delivered at Allahabad. Then followed the long and acrimonious correspondence between the Lieutenant Governor and A. O. Hume which was later published by the former, in November 1888, under the title *Audi Alteram Partem* when Colvin wrote long letters expressing his serious objection to the new postures taken by the Congress. A. O. Hume wrote back even longer letters seeking to explain that the nationalist body was using only legitimate and constitutional channels open for it. The contents of these letters have been quoted quite often and need not be recounted here. The Viceroy was pleased with Colvin's vigour and informed him of his full agreement with his criticisms.[27] The Viceroy asked for more copies of Colvin's pamphlet so that it could be distributed to every member of the British Parliament.

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In this context it should not be difficult to understand why the organisers of the Fourth Congress at Allahabad had to face the opposition of the provincial government in making arrangements for the session. The Reception Committee had to suffer inconveniences for securing a site for the Congress Session as the provincial goverment put one hurdle after another. Auckland Colvin also issued an official circular prohibiting all government servants from joining the Session. During the Congress Session the Lieutenant Governor left Allahabad on tour. These details show his displeasure of the Congress activity in the province.[28]

A. Colvin insisted that "my view of the policy or impolicy of interference" was the only safe course open to the British Government in India. He did everything possible to convince the Viceroy that the Indian National Congress should not be allowed to operate freely. Colvin's objective was to win over the Viceroy to his side and he was successful in his venture to a large extent. Colvin convinced the Viceroy that "repression can be adopted with equally little risk of active indications of resentment."[29] In his letters to the Viceroy he repeatedly pleaded for curbing the newly established nationalist organisation. The Viceroy was not averse to these proposals. But his "remedy" was not to "enter upon a policy of repression" till provincial councils had been liberalised and "legitimate constitutional channels" had been provided for "reasonable activities."[30]

There is sufficient evidence in the Dufferin Papers to support the theory that Colvin's suggestions had considerable impact on the Viceroy. The Viceroy expressed his "general agreement" with Auckland Colvin's "interesting minutes and papers." He confessed having read these papers several times and informed the Lieutenant Governor of his "admiration" for "the pains taken" by the latter in preparing pamphlets and writing letters. The Viceroy ultimately decided to administer an open rebuke to the Congress in his St. Andrews Day dinner speech delivered on 30 November 1888 at the time of laying down his office. This hard-hitting speech was not an emotional outburst but a well-calculated move of the Viceroy to denounce the Congress at the time of his departure from India. Its aim was to stifle the nascent organisation and must have given ample satisfaction to Colvin. He had been suggesting that the Viceroy should openly declare his antipathy towards the Congress when such an expression was made by the Viceroy in the St. Andrews Day speech it was because of the influence of his junior colleague. This fact was not known at that time but in the light of the private papers of the Viceroy such an assertion can be made with reasonable certainty. It has rightly been pointed out that "the points emphasised by Dufferin were more or less identical"[31] with those of Colvin. It should be

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added that this identity of expression was due to the fact that both of them broadly agreed on the strategy towards the Congress.

A.O. Hume wrote to Auckland Colvin in 1888, that "you are personally hostile towards the Congress—that you desire to ruin all who take a prominent part in it—that you will favour and reward all those who oppose it." It has been explained that the prominent Congress leader was very near the truth when he wrote these lines. There is no doubt that Auckland Colvin played a prominent part in launching "a mean, sneaking, unworthy kind of opposition against the Congress."[33] The Lieutenant governor initiated a vilifying campaign against the Congress which found many champions in the decades to come.

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AN EXPLANATORY NOTE ON SOME VEDIC COMPOUNDS

R. A. PATHAK

The Tāittirīya, Māitrāyaṇī and the Kāṭhaka Saṃhitās preserve some compounds, viz. *agne-yānī*[1] 'Agni's path', *vāyo-yānī*[2] 'Vāyu's path' and *vāyo-sāvitraḥ*[3] 'an offering to Vāyu and Savitṛ' which are regarded as irregular in as much as they contain unusual forms of stems in their prior members. First two of these are, as is amply evident from the context, genitive (*tatpurusha*) cpds and the last an adjective derived from a coordinative (*devatā-dvandva*) compound. Parallel passages in the cognate Saṃhitās offer regular forms with normal stems instead of some of these mentioned above.[4] This has led some scholars to doubt even their genuineness which does not seem plausible against the meticulous care taken by the Vāidikas in preservation of their sacred texts. However, we are confronted with a number of remarks including some hasty hence erroneous ones like that of Prof. Keith to whom the first two appear 'to be no more than mere blunders'[5] and the last, on the authorities of Prof. Weber and Prof. Wackernagel, 'an extraordinary form'.[6] Prof. Weber compared *vāyo-sāvitraḥ* to *āindra-vāyava*-and maintained thereby that the prior member *vāyo* had been used for adjective *vāyava*[7] (like *āindra*-in the said cpd.). This explanation appears at the root of Prof. Debrunner's doubt 'whether *vāyo*-stands for adj. *vāyava*-or for simple *vāyu*-?'[8] Earlier to this Prof. Wackernagel passed a general statement that strong stems also appear very rarely in prior members of Sanskrit cpds.[9] Prof. Debrunner illustrated this statement by these very cpds in his *Nachträge* to volume II 1 of the *Altindische Grammatik*.[10] But at another place the learned Prof. remarked: *vāyo-sāvitra(ḥ)* beside *vāyu-savitṛbhyām* is anomalous.[11] Similarly, at a third place he maintained *agni-yānī* (KS) to be correct against *agne-yānī* containing genitive case-form[12] and observed in *vāyo-sāvitraḥ* an elision of gen. sg. *-s* before a single sibilant.[13] Thus, there seems no certainty in regard to the explanation of these compounds.

The indigenous grammatical tradition, although does not treat these cpds particularly, yet general rules relevant to the Vedic cpds may be seen operative. For instance, following the maxims : *sarve vidhayaś chhandasi vikalpante*[14] and *Chhandasi dṛishṭam anuvidhīyate*[15] the gen. sg. ending *-s* (or *-as*) in *agne-s* and *vāyo-s* (in the expressions *agner yānī* and *vāyor yānī*) may be dropped

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by *supo dhātu-prātipadikayoḥ*[16] and consequently *agne-yānī* and *vāyo-yānī* may be obtained. Here the interpretative maxim *nimittāpāye nāimittikasyā' py apāyaḥ*[17], i.e. 'the effect also goes away if the cause thereof is lost', usually applied to get the normal stem will have its optional application in this case. In case it is applied the elision of the gen-sg. ending-*as* the cause having gone, the guṇa in *agne*-and *vāyo*-which is the effect (*nāimittika*) will also disappear. Thus, with the absence of guṇa the normal stems *agni*-and *vāyu*-will appear in stead of the above. So regular cpds *agni-yānī* (actually occurring in the KS) and *vāyu-yānī* may be obtained. On the other hand, if the said maxim is not applied the guṇated stems *agne*-and *vāyo*- will appear in the prior member.

The case of the adj. *vāyo-sāvitraḥ* is slightly different. The basic form *vāyo-savitārāu* from which it is supposed to have been derived may be explained as a *devatādvandva* arising from the expression like *vāyavā ca savitārāu ca* (with dual in both members as often alleged) an earlier form[18] for later *vāyū ca savitārāu ca* like *kratū dakshāu* (VS), *viṣṇū varuṇā* (TB.), etc. Here the dual ending *ā* in *vāyavā*, declined like *bāhav-ā* (RV), may be dropped by the above-mentioned rule[19] of Pāṇini and the interpretative maxim referred to above will not be applied. Thus, the coordinative *vāyo-savitārāu* with the strong stem *vāyo* may be had. Then by the application of *sā'sya devatā*[20] (with initial *vṛiddhi* in both members)[21] *vāyo-sāvitraḥ* may be derived. In case of *vāyu-savitṛbhyām* the interpretative maxim seems operative in order to get the normal form of the stem, viz. *vāyu*. That is all which may be mentioned in the name of an explanation from the indigenous grammatical system.

A more satisfactory explanation may be presented from an inquiry into the characteristic feature of cpds with special reference to their prior member. With a view to the historical evolution of cpds it is obvious that the appearance of the stem form preferably the weak one in prior members represents the last stage.[22] Earlier stages, as is attested by the evidence of the linguistic material in the RV, are characterised by stronger stems with higher grades of vowels.[23] Survivals representing earlier stages consigned to utmost rarety through the ravages of vast period could not be honoured with a special rule in the grammatical treatises based on the principle of generality.[24] Singular cases were often dispensed with. Most of such materials relevant to the present study which are helpful in linking the chain of gradual evolution are recorded in the Ashṭādhyāyī. For instance, Pāṇini prescribes *ānaṅ* as a substitute of stem final in coordinatives[25] like *indrāsomāu, agnāvishṇū, *vishṇā-varuṇāu, vishṇā-pū, mātāpitarāu*, etc. In other words the final vowel of the stem

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used as prior member is replaced by *ā* a *vṛiddhi* vowel. But this strengthening of *ā* is not restricted to the *devatā-dvandvas* only but, there is also a number of other types of cpds where it appears, e.g. *asmā-dṛiśa* : *asma*, *ekā-daśa* : *eka*; *kavā-sakha* : *kavi*; *kā-patha* : *ki*; *tādṛiś* : *ta*; *tvā-dāta*, *tvā-vasu*; *tva-*; *dvā-ja-* *dvā-daśa*, *dvā-para* : *dvi-*, *narā-śaṃsa* : *nara-*; *nābhā-nedishṭha* : *nābhi-*; *mahā-mati* : *mahi-*; *madhyāvarsham* : *madhya-*; *vibhā-vasu* : *vibhu*; *viśvā-mitra*; *-nara*; *-vasu* : *viśva*; *sakhā-bhāva* (VP.) *sakhi-*, *sachā-bhū* : *sachi*, etc. Final strengthening in some of these instances has been explained on metrical ground[26] and in others as a dual ending.[27] But it is, as we shall see later on, neither due to metrical exegency nor a dual ending.

As to the nature of the above-mentioned strengthening as *ā* it may be safely maintained with the indigenous grammarians that it is a *vṛiddhi* grade of vowel appearing as a strong grade of the stem.[28] As such it (*ā*) appears at a number of places in the declensional forms of *a*—stems,[29] e.g. sg. nom. m. *sā*[30], voc. *vṛishabhā*, inst. *yajñā*, *tyā* loc. *upāsthā vasantà* (SB) or *vasàntā* (TB.), du. nom. voc. acc. *devā*, *mitrā*, *tā*, inst. dat. abl. *karṇā-bhyām*, *nāsatyā-bhyām*, *aṃśā-bhyām*; pl. *asmā-bhis*, *yushmā-bhis*, *asmā-kam*, *asmā-su* In the declension of *i*-stems it occurs in the sg. nom. *sakhā* and loc. *agnā*. Similar forms with *vṛiddhi* may be surmised in case of *u*-stems on the ground of their close parallelism with *i*-stems. In the *ṛ*-stems it is in the nom. sg. *mātā*, *pitā*, etc. This very stem is preserved in the above-mentioned cpds. If it represents a dual or any ending in the coordinative as is often alleged, how then it is seen in secondary formations like *ekā-ka*, *ekā-k-in*, etc. ? So it follows from the fact that it is a grade of vowel preserved also in the dual flexion beside a number of other places enumerated above. It is a common *vṛiddhi* form to all the vowels occurring finally or before a consonant.[31]

The earliest stage preserved in cpds is characterised by *vṛiddhi* vowels contained in earlier cpds. Thus from *a*—stem occurs the *vṛiddhi* grade *ā* in earlier cpds like *indrāpushṇoḥ*, *narā-śaṃsa-*, *viśvā-mitra-*, *viśvā-nara*,—*vasu-*, *psu-*; *tvā-vasu-*, etc. Similarly, from *i*-stem *ā* appears for *āi* before consonants, e. g. *agnāvishṇū* (also in *āgnāpāushṇa-*, °*vāishṇava*) a *devatādvaddva* preserving *agnā* (for *agnāi*) which is not a dual flexion as is usually expected, but the stem contained in the strong forms of *agni-* declined as an earlier type like *sakhi-* 'companion'[32]. The usual declension of *agni-* represents a much later type. Thus follows a number of cpds, e. g. *naktoshāsā* (for *naktā* + *usāsā*) *kavā-* *sakha* : *kavi-*; *nābhā-nedishṭha-* : *nābhi-*; *mahā-mati* : *mahi-*; *sachā-bhū* : *sachi-*; *dvā-* *daśa-* °*-para*, °*-ja* : *dvi-*; *harā-śayā*-TS. MS. : *hari-*, etc. Likewise from *u*-stems appears *ā* for *āu* finally or before a consonant. For instance, the basic form

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vishṇā varuṇā (*u*) (from which the adj. *vāishṇāvāruṇa*-is derived) has *vīshṇā* (for *vishṇu*) which is not a dual flexion of *vishṇu*-but is used here as a stem form in *vṛiddhi* grade preserved in (the loc. sg. flexion as well as in some secondary formations like *danāv- ī : danu-*; *manāv- ī*; *manu-*, etc.) the strong forms of *vishṇu*-declined as an earlier type, i. e. *vishṇā vishṇāv-ā* (*u*) *vishṇāv-as* like *adhrigāv-as* : *adhrigu*.- The usual declension of *u*-stems also like that of *i*-stems represents a later stage. This *vṛidhi* grade stem as such may be observed in cpds other than the coordinative, e. g. *vibhā-vasu-* : *vibhu-*; *kā-patha-*, *kā-purusha* : *ku-*; etc. In the same way from *ṛ*-stems appears *ā* for *ār* before consonants, and then before vowels also, e. g. *mātā-pitarāu* in which *mātā* occurs for *mātār* the *vṛiddhi* grade stem. It is neither a dual flexion nor a nom. sg. as alleged by Wackernagel[33] but the *vṛiddhi* grade stem contained in the strong (*vṛiddhi*) forms of *mātṛi*-declined as an earlier type, i. e. like derivative-*tṛi*-stems. Just as from *kartṛi-* : *kartā kartārā*(*u*) *kartār-as* so from *mātṛi-* : *mātā mātār-ā*(*u*) *mātār-as*, etc. This is preserved in a number of earlier cpds, e. g. *pitā-maha-*, *pitā-putrāu* : *pitṛi-*, *neṣṭā-potṛi-bhyām*, *neshṭā-potārāu : neshṭri-*; *mātā-maha-* : *matṛi-*; *tvashṭā-varūtrī* : *tvashṭṛi-*; *hotā'dhvaryū* : *hotṛi-*, etc.

The subsequent stage in the evolution of cpds may be marked as characterised by *guṇa* or secondary (*vṛiddhi*) grade vowels. Here the earlier *vṛiddhi* vowels have assumed their corresponding *guṇa* forms, viz. *ai au* (now pronounced under the influence of Prakrits as *e o* respectively) and *ar*. Thus corresponding to earlier *ā* (for *āi*) appears *ai* (*e*) with the shortening of initial element. The change of *ā* to *ai : e* may be illustrated with a number of instances, viz. *mimāti* (RV) : *mimeti* (SV), *upasthā : upasthe*, *vasantā : vasante*; *tvā : tvay-ā*; *nāvāja* (ŚB) : Hindī *nevāja*, etc. For instance, *asmā- indrā- madhyā- mahā- viśvā*-the prior members of the earlier stage appear as *indre*-in *indre-ṇatā*[34] 'bent by Indra;' *madhye* in *madhye-saṁgṛihītam*; *mahe*[35] in *mahe-nadi*, *mahe-mate* and *mahe- vṛidhe*; *viśve-*[36] in *viśve- deva-*, *asme*[37] in *asme- hiti*, etc. To this very stage belongs *agne-yānī* where earlier *vṛiddhi* grade *agnā-* appears as *agne-*. So *agne-* represents the *guṇa* grade of the stem present in the sg. nom. *ve-s*, voc. *agne*, dat. *agnay-e*, abl-gen. *agne-s*, pl. nom. *agnay-as* and in a number of secondary formations. Similarly, earlier *ā* (for *āu*) with shortening of the initial element is represented by *au : o* in this stage. It may be illustrated with *dyā* in *dyā-dviveda* (a proper name) appearing as *dyo-* in *dharā-viyad-dyo- salileshu* (MBh.)[38], *dyo-druma* (Nāishadha) and in the second member of the collective cpd. *dor-bāhav-āṇi* (ŚB). The change of earlier *ā* (for *āu*) to *o* may be noted in *a-shāḍha-* or *sāḍhā* but later *soḍha- soḍhā* from √*sah* 'prevail', loc. sg. *sānāu* and *sāno*, etc. To this class belong *vāyo-yānī* and **vayo-savitārāu* where

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guṇa grade in the prior member *vāyo-* represents the later stage of earlier *vāyā*, like *vishṇā* in *vāishṇāvāruṇa-*. As *vāyā-* the *vṛiddhi* grade of the stem *vāyu-* has disappeared long ago hence appears the prohibition of *ānaṅ* to it in the Mahābhāshya.[39] The *guṇa* grade stem occurs in the flexions of the sg. voc. *vāyo*, dat. *vāyav-e* abl-gen. *vāyo-s*, loc. *druhyav-i* du. acc. *bāhav-ā* and pl. *vāyav-as* besides appearing in a number of secondary formations. Likewise the *vṛiddhi* grade *ā* (for *ār*) appears as *ar* in *usar-būdh- : usṛi-*, *prātar- yūj-* : **prātṛi*, *svar-ṇara-* :**svṛi-*, etc.

Next stage is characterised by long vowels. Here earlier *guṇa* vowels begin to appear as long ones. Thus for instance, long *ī* appears in *agnīvaruṇāu*, *angī-shomāu*, *agnīdhra* where the prior member *agnī-* is not a dual but a grade of stem appearing also at other places (i. e. the sg. inst, *ūtī* dat. *ūtī*, loc. *vedī*, plu. nom. *aṛy-as*, etc. including the dual flexion also. Similarly, long *ū* appears in place of earlier *o* in *vāyū-gopāḥ*, *kratū-dakshāu*, *vishṇū-varuṇā*, *vibhū-vasu-*, *jātū-karṇya-*, *jātū-shṭhira*: *jātu-*; *hanū-kampa* : *hanu-*,[40] etc. Long *ū* here is a grade of vowel occurring in the flexions of sg. inst. *kratv-ā*, dat. *kratv-e*, gen. *paśv-as*, abl. *pitv-as* and pl. nom. acc. *kratv-as*, etc. The change of *e* to *ī* may be noted in *ay-am* but *iy-am*; *ī-dṛiś-*. The earlier phase of the language preserves *-ay-as* which later on appears as *-ī-s* : *vibhūtay-as* but *vibhūtī-s*; *ame* : *amī sedatur* : *sīdatur* (Epic), *snehitī-snīhitī*, etc. and *ūtay-e* : *ūtī*; *heḍamāna-* : *hīḍamāna* and that of *o* to *ū* in *voḍhvam* : *ūḍhvam*; *oṇi-* : *ūṇi-*; *bāhav-ā-* : *bāhū-*, etc. *brav--īhi* (epic) : *brū-hi*; *sajosh-āḥ* : *sajūr-*, etc. Long *ṛī* in prior member of cpds is not quotable.

Subsequent to long vowels come short vowels in the prior member. This is the only regular form the stem prescribed in grammer,[41] *e. g. agnivāyū vāyv-agnī-*, *agnī-yāni*, *vāyu-gopāḥ*, *pathi-shṭhā-* (AV and Epics) *vāyu-savitṛbhyām*, *viśva-śaṁ-bhuvā*, *nābhi-daghna- dvi-jāni-*, *hari-śayā-* VS. *anti-mitra. ku-patha*, *ki-tava*, *saci-vid-*, *vibhu-kratu-*, *dyūdyāna-* (Suryaśataka 79), *dyuloka- matṛi-pitroḥ*, *pitṛishakha-*, *pitṛi-pitāmaha-*, etc.

The change of long vowels to short ones may be illustrated, as du. nom voc acc. m. *jigatnu* (RV. 7 65, 1), *su-hantu* (7, 19, 4) against usual *jigatnū-*, *suhantū*, n. nom. acc pl. *vasu*, *puru* against normal *vaśū*, *purū*, etc. sg. inst. *suśasti* (Kh. 11, 10^2) : for *suśastī*, *sushṭutī* : but *sadha-stuti*.

As treated above, different grades of vowels may be conveniently presented in the following table :

Vṛddhi grade	>	*Guṇa* grade	>	long grade	>	short or normal grade
ā (for *āi*)		(*ai*:) *e*	>	*ī*	>	i

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agnā-		*agne-*		*agnī-*		*agni-*
mahā-		*mahe-*		*mahī-*		*mahi-*
ṛitā-		*ṛite-*		*ṛitī-*		*ṛiti-*
dvā-						*dvi-*
ā (for *āu*)	V	(*au*:) *o*	V	*ū*	V	*u*
vishṇā-		*vishṇo-*		*vishṇū-*	V	*vishṇu-*
**vāyā-*		*vāyo-*		*vāyū-*		*vāyu-*
ā (for *ār*)	V	*ar*	V			*ṛi*
mātā-						*matṛi-*
pitā-		*usar-*				*pitṛi-*
		prātar-				
		vasar-				
ā	V	*e*			V	*a*
indrā-		*indre-*				*indra-*
viśvā-		*viśve-*				*viśva-*
madhyā-		*madhye-*				*madhya-*
narā-		*nare-*				*nara-*

Thus it is quite evident that the stems in cpds in question, viz. *agne-yānī*, *vāyo-yānī* and *vāyo-śāvitraḥ* seeming anomalous in view of the majority of cases in classical cpds, are regular. They represent a particular stage, viz. the *guṇa*, in the gradual course of evolution of Sanskrit cpds.

References

1. TS. 4, 4, 6, 2: MS. 2, 8, 13. 2. TS. 4, 4, 6, 2; MS. 2, 8, 13.
3. TS. 7, 5, 22, 1; Kāṭh S. 45, 19.
4. *agni-yānī* Kaṭh S. 22, 5; *Vāyu-savitṛbhyām* MS. 3, 15, 11.
5. The Veda of the Black Yajus School entitled Tāittirīya Saṃhitā translated by A. B. Keith, pt. 2, p. 347 fn. 1.
6. Loc. cit. p. 634 fn. 7. 7. Indische studien 13, 102.
8. Unklar TS. 7, 5, 22=Kaṭh. Aśv. 5, 19 (171, 7) *vāyo-sāvitre* (Pp. TS.—*traḥ*),, beim Opfer an Vāyu u. Savitar" gegen MS. 3, 15, 11 (181, 2) *vāyu-savitṛibhyām*; steht *vāyo-* für *vāyava*—oder für *vāyu*—? Alt. Gr. II 2, 117 § 35 e remark.
9. Alt. Gr. II 1, 55 § 22d.
10. P. 18 (55, 25).
    TS. 7, 5, 22, 1=Kāṭh Aśv. 5, 19 (171, 7 f.) *vāyo-sāvitraḥ*=MS. 3, 15, 11 (181, 2f.) *vāyu-savitṛibhyām*, Ved. Var. 2 II. 716—Mantra TS. 4, 4, 6, 2 *agne-yānī* and *vāyo-yānī* (mit Varianten in den Paralleltexten; Ved. Var. 2, 180 §. 357.
11. Loc. cit. p. 47 (155, 9) :
    Für MS. *vāyu-savitṛibhyām* steht TS. 7, 5, 22, 1; Kāṭh Aśv. 5, 19 (171, 7 f) *vāyo-sāvitra(ḥ)* unregelmäßig, vgl. Ved. Var. 2. II. 716.

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12. Loc. cit. p. 72 (247, 41) :

agne-yānī, Agnis Weg 'im Mantra MS. 2, 8, 13 (116, 18), TS. 4, 4, 6, 2 *agner (devānām) agne-yāny asi* (Kāṭh. 22, 5 (60, 9) korrekt *(agni-yānī)* neben *agner yāny asi*, Ved. Var. 2, 180.

13. *Nachträge* zu Band I p. 194 (342, 5) :

—TS. 7, 5, 22, 1 and Kāṭh Aśv. 5, 19 (171, 7f.) *vāyo-sāvitra(ḥ)* aber MS. 3, 15, 11 (181, 2f.) *vāyu-savitṛ-bhyām)* wohl aus TS. 4, 7, 15, 3 *vāyoḥ savitur.*

14. *Paribhāshā* 35, *Paribhāshenduśekhara* ed. and tr. F. Kielhorn.

15. M Bhāsh. on 3, 1, 11. 16. Ashṭā 2, 4, 71.

17. Though not included in the *Paribhāshenduśekhara* this *paribhāshā* constitutes no. 99 of the *Paribhāshāvṛitti* of Sīradeva (Paribhāshendu. Vol. II. p. 535).

18. **Vāyavā* is the supposed nom. du. from *vāyu*—restored on the ground acc. du. *bāhavā* RV. 2, 38, 2; 5, 64, 2; 7, 62, 5.

19. Ashṭā 2, 4, 71. 20. Loc. cit. 4, 2, 24.

21. By the application of *devatādvandve ca.* Aṣṭā. 7. 3, 21.

22. Alt. Gr. II, 1, 48 §. 20a. 23. Cp. Alt. Gr. II 1, 55 § 22d.

24. Known as the *utsargāpavāda-vidhi*, cp. M Bhāsh I Āhnika *Kaścid utsargaḥ kaścid apavādaḥ sāmānyenotsargaḥ...tasya viśeshenāpavādaḥ.*

25. *ānaṅ ṛito dvandve* and *devatādvandve ca.* Ashṭā. 6, 3, 25 and 26.

26. Cf Alt. Gr. II 1, 130 § 56 also Dehnugsgesetzt der griechischen Komposita p. 16ff.

27. Loc. cit. II. 1, 130 §. 56 a remark :

Selbstverständlich sind die Dvandvas mit *ā* im Vorderglied fernzuhalten da dieses *ā* Dualendung ist. Also Alt. Gr. II 1, 213 II 89 a remark : Bei einigen v. Kompp. deren Vorderglied ein *ā*—Stamm ist, kann man schwanken, ob *ā* im Ausgang des Vorderglieds Inst-Endung ist oder auf Kompositionsdehung (II 56) beruht. So bei *śaphā-ruj*" mit dem Huf zerbrechend" (Henry AV. VIII u. IX p. 46) oder „Hufzer-brecher" (BR).

28. *alugadhikāraḥ prāg ānaṅaḥ* MBhāsh. vārt. 1 on Ashṭā. 6, 3, 1. i. e. the treatment of *aluk* or the appearance of case-forms in cpds ends at *ānaṅ* exclusive which indicates that *ānaṅ* formation being not *aluk* are stem forms.

29. Cp. Author's paper entitled "Some Remarks on the Altindische Grammatik", *Acta Orientalia Hung.* 1976 vol. XXX (1) pp. 122-3.

30. RV. 1, 145, 1. 31. Alt. Gr. I. 106 II 93, 94, 95.

32. That is, *angā agnāyā(u) agnāyaḥ* from *agni*—to be restored on the ground of *sakhā, sakhāyā(u) sakhāyaḥ* from *sakhi*—'companion'.

33. Alt. Gr. II. 1, 154, §. 64.

34. Prof. Wackernagel explained it. as an instance of haplology Alt. Gr. I 280; also cp. *Acta Orientalia Hung.* Vol. XXX (1) pp. 126-7 (1976).

35. Loc. cit. pp. 125-6. 36. Loc. cit. p. 126. 37. Loc. cit. p. 127.

38. MBh. 8, 66, 12 b (= 8, 4658).

39. *ubhayatra vāyoḥ pratishedhaḥ*, vārt. 1 on Ashṭā 6, 3, 27.

40. Cp. *hanūbhyām* TS, 4, 1, 102; 7, 3, 16. 1.

41. Cp. *supo dhātu-prātipadikayoḥ.* Ashṭā. 2, 4, 71; Alt. Gr. II 1, 48 II 20.

42. These grades are recorded in their historical order by Pāṇini in his first three sūtras (of the Ashṭādhyāyī), viz. (i) *vṛiddhir ādaich*, (ii) *adeṅ guṇaḥ* and (iii) *iko guṇa-vṛiddhī.*

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Other Abbreviations as used in the *Alt. Gr.* with following specifications:

Cl(assical), c(om)p(oun)d(s), ep(ic), f(oot) n(ote), m(asculine), p(age) p(ar)t, *vārt(tika)*, etc.

Finally, I feel pleasure in dedicating this paper to the sacred memory of late Prof. D. D. Kosambi.

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A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE CHANGING SOCIAL ORDER AT YUGĀNTA : OR THE END OF KALI AGE

(with special reference to the *Mahābhārata*)

R. K. DWIVEDI

I

History does not record any eyewitness account of decay, degeneration and death of a civilization or culture. Such things have never been actually empirically seen in the realm of history. But the idioms of history do contain facts about growth, development and change in societies and cultures. Such phenomena imperceptibly unfold the internal potentiality of the societies and cultures for growth and change. In the entire span of history, facts of persistence and change recur in a mingled manner. What is vital for the students of history is to identify these phases of decay and change. In the context of Indian history where ancient records are characteristically deficient in historical insight, it is all the more a difficult task to pinpoint such a phase of social and cultural change.

In the present paper which is dedicated to the memory of Late D. D. Kosambi whose writings enkindled in me an urge for the study of ancient Indian history and culture, our attempt would be first to understand the theory and concept of the Yugas in Indian tradition which has been variously interpreted by the historians sometimes as a classical doctrine of cyclical change, sometimes as a principle of progress and degeneration and sometimes as a theory of natural history and cosmic change. We would also attempt, in the second place, to interpret the implications of the multiform socio-cultural changes in the Kali age as described in the *Mahābhārata* not in its traditional context but in its historical perspective by attempting to identify these changes in the context of ancient Indian history. The question of the relationship between the epic and Purāṇic accounts needs consideration. This has been touched in the concluding portions of the present paper.

Elaborate descriptions of the Kali age abound in the *Purāṇas*.[1] The Yuga-dharma sections of the different *Purāṇas* have been ascribed to different dates by R. C. Hazra. Of all the *Purāṇas, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa* and *Vishṇu Purāṇas*

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are the earliest as evident from the chronology worked out by Hazra.[2] Besides Purāṇic accounts of the Kali age, a lengthy narration of the which is also found at several places in the *Mahābhārata*[3] which, however, could not receive notice of the historians.

II

Theory of the Yugas

Before the changing social order of the Kali age as found in the epic is described and interpreted, it would be proper to sketch briefly the theory of the Yugas. Attempts have been made to understand the real import of the traditional Yugas and explain their significance. In this connection it would not be out of place here to make a brief reference to the traditional division of time formulated in some ancient texts of India. One of the basic periods is '*Kalpa*' denoting a day of Brahmā which consists of 4320 million earthly years. A '*Kalpa*' is so called because Brahmā ordained it.'[4] The *Kalpa* is closely connected with cosmology. A *Kalpa* closes with a great fire which causes total destruction.[5] A thousand *Kalpas* make a year of Brahmā and one thousand such years make a *Yuga*.[6] Actual numbers and duration of the *Kalpa* vary in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.[7] Similar is the length of Brahmā's night. A *Kalpa* is divided into '*manvaṁtaras*' or secondary cycles with intervening periods when the world is recreated and a new Manu, the mythical progenitor of mankind appears. In the Purāṇic scheme of time, *manvaṁtara* occupies a nuclear position as it constitutes one of the five topics of narration. However, the epic narrates the *manvaṁtaras* at a low-key. Destruction by 'saṁvartaka fire' referred to in the epic impliedly suggests a *manvaṁtara*.[8] According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa* each *manvaṁtara* is subdivided into seventy one '*mahāyugas*'[9] or aeons and a thousand such *mahāyugas* constitute a *kalpa*. Each mahāyuga is divided into four yugas viz. Kṛita, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali comprising of 4800, 3600, 2400 and 1200 divine years.[10]

Computation of the yugas also varied from time to time. In the later Saṁhitās Kṛita etc. were the determinants of the stakes.[11] Later a yuga is said to have comprised of five years.[12] The sixfold systematisation of yuga system viz. yuga, yugabheda, yugadharma, yugasaṁdhyāṁśaka, yugasaṁdhāna and yugasaṁkhyā[13] clearly leads one to conclude that it underwent elaboration reaching almost to its apex in the *Purāṇās*. By the fifth century A. D. the concept of the *kalpa, manvaṁtara* and yuga was definitely perfected and given a scientific and astronomical base by Āryabhaṭa.[14] The theory of the Yugas appears to be a complex one. Time is related to the yugas and the yugas, in turn

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with the conditions of dharma. Each yuga signifies a progressive morphological deterioration and degeneration of virtues. Thus man's capacity to obey the moral law progressively weakens in the successive yugas.[15] At the end of each yuga, final dissolution of the universe takes place and a new order is created through the instrument of a divinity called god's incarnation. Such changes evidently imply growth and development and are not intrinsic but induced by external factors like a deity, fire or war. However, the nature and purpose of such multiform political, social, economic and cultural changes taking place in the successive yugas does not appear to be purely historical but is a historical or rather developmental.

This classification of time was treated by many historians who wrote from time to time, as a system of cosmic cycles through which the universe passes. Some other historians who believe in the impersonality and autonomous manner of historical evolution not only submit to the 'view of cyclic or linear movement of history', but also try to see 'a moral and ethical tenor in the Hindu conception of periodic classification of history'. Such historians believe that 'the succession of ages is symbolic of the psychological development of man and represents the stages of the moral progress (or regress) of mankind'.[16] The succession of historical periods is identified with the unfolding of the psychological stages of man : the Kṛita being equated with the age of activity the tretā being the age of the readiness for action, the dwāpara as the age of wakefulness and the Kali as the age of sumber and sleep.[17] The four age classification of time does not suggest a fixed and predetermined period of time that operates in a transpersonal manner but signifies stages of the moral and mental development of man[18] irrespective of its a historical-chronological framework. The schematic references to the yugas reveal that conditions degenerated progressively in the different yugas.[19]

However, these cycle, cosmic, or phychological explainations for the understanding of these yugas could not satisfy the historians. The moralo-ethical overtone given to the yugadharma sections rendered them too philosophical to understand in proper historical perspective. Nevertheless, attempts were made. The 'Yugānta' or end of the Kali age narrated in the Yugapurāṇa and some other passages characteristically presenting a chaotic social order, decline of religious virtues, changing values and rule of alien kings was taken notice of probably for the first time by K. P. Jayswal and following him by many others including A. L. Basham[20] in its historical setting.

Attempts have been made by the scholars to study the historical underpinnings of the Puraṇic accounts of the Kali age. One of the earliest attempts

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was made by K. P. Jayswal as noted before who identified the Yavanas of the Yugapurāṇa with the Indo-Greeks who were put in the Kaliśesha i. e. close of the Kali age.[21] He places this chronicle earlier than all the Purāṇas, in the first century B.C.[22] He was much impressed by the 'marvellously correct'[23] account of the political conditions of Pāṭaliputra given in the text and does not hesitate to call it 'a chronicle' and its author a Hindu historian and 'a historian chronicle.'[24] Basham noted that such narrations start appearing in the literary texts of India from about the beginning of Christian era when the established social order was disturbed by the alien invaders and the heretical religions like Jainism, Buddhism.[25] Thereafter 'the muddled accounts of the Kali age' contained in the early *Purāṇas* were seen probably for the first time in a historical perspective in their proper social setting by B. N. S. Yadava[26] when he presented these accounts as evidences for the study of social transformation during the Śaka-Kushāṇa period. Recently R.S. Sharma has stressed the need of the study of the Kali age described in some of the earliest *Purāṇas* evidently in the light of the serious social crisis in the early centuries of Christian era when the production relations embodied in the varṇa system were disturbed and undermined. He stressed the need of enquiring into the reasons of this crisis.[27] Thus the conditions of the Kali age were no more treated as representing a cosmic-cyclic order of the universe operating independently and autonomously but as marking a transition from one social formation to the other.

III

The concept of Yugas

The idioms of such historical changes which were never accurately and precisely defined in Indian literature probably found expression, *inter alia,* in the theory and concept of the Yugas. The words like birth, growth and maturity of a society of degeneration decay and death of a social order can not be applied literally to social and cultural phenomena. When applied to 'social and cultural phenomena, these words acquire a metaphorical meaning'.[28] The Yugas in this sense appear to be a metaphorical expression of the socio-cultural transformation of one social model into the other. Probably with the aid of this metaphorical expression, changes in the Indian social order were recognised and identified. Viewed in this light that Yugas appear to assume a historical significance.

It would not be proper to dismiss the concept of the Yugas as being thoroughly irrational and unscientific despite its being clothed in a metaphorical

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language. If permitted to cite Herbert Read, the word 'metaphor' stands for the 'synthesis of several complex units into one commanding image; it is the expression of a complex idea not by analysis nor by direct statement but by a sudden perception of an objective relation'.[29] The Yugas thus understood metaphorically reveal the cognition of different sets of social conditions and experiences and were identified as forming a compact Yuga or as 'one encapsulating image'. In the domain of creative thought grasp of a new situation or process is usually expressed in such forms as we find in the concept of the Yugas. Sometimes when the grasp and perception of social changes is associated with acute intensity of thought, objectivity assumes the garb of a metaphor. If, therefore, one does not find the language of historical objectivity in the unfolding of the socio-economic condition of the successive Yugas, one should not dismiss it as thoroughly irrational. Its interpretation should not be delinked from the intensity of feeling of the creative authors. The society in the Kali age is projected as a sick society decaying with poisonous elements like wars, epidemics, deficient production and decay of moral values. But nowhere in the description of the Kali age any plan of social action is spelled out to alleviate the miseries. Instead social order of the Kali age is replaced by another by not very well defined instruments of change. A critical perusal of the Yugānta section in the *Mahābhārata* and elsewhere, reveals that the concept of Yuganta i.e. the end of an age does not signify a period of total dissolution of the universe in a cosmic deluge. On the contrary, it signifies passing off of an order—a social formation, out of which is born a new order, a new social formation.[30] *Pralaya* occurring at the end of every Yuga indicates submergence of an order which finally gives way to another. This is evident from a verse in the epic where it is said that after the enfeebling of the Kali age, Kṛita age begins. It finally makes the completion of the cycle of 12000 divine years.[31] Closely related to these periodic cycles is the notion of *Yugānta* which signifies the end of an epoch a phase of a particular age. This is evident when we cast a glance at the broad classification of time, into the kalpas, manvaṁtaras, mahāyugas and yugas, and their import. A kalpa implies change or transformation: a manvaṁtara, the emergence of a new Manu as the progenitor of the mankind in a new epoch as contrasted with the earlier Manu whose age has degenerated yielding to a new phase. The Kalpa has been explained as a day of Brahmā. Kalpas and manvaṁtaras so popularly defined and elaborated in the *Purāṇas*[32] are mentioned at a low-key in the *Mahābhārata*[33] when the epic mentions Brahmā's days and nights which mark the close of 12000 years cycle of the four yugas.[34] Possibly the concept of kalpas and manvaṁtaras was incorporated into the Hindu scheme of time from some other source and amala-

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gamated with the concept of the mahāyugas and yugas.[35] The fourfold classification of the yugas suggests only a progressive decline of virtue and not the total dissolution of the order is evident from several passages of the epic.[36] Had it been a case of total dissolution of the existing order, the concept of gradual recession of virtue would have not occurred in the epic. It suggests the continuation of the existing order even in the succeeding age with relatively reduced merits and virtues.[37] Thus recession of virtues does not suggest complete overthrow of the existing order but implies gradual emergence of a new order from within the old or hitherto existing order. This view finds confirmation in other verses of the epic where a king is said to be the creator of time i.e. Yuga.[38] When a king rules righteously[39], he causes the rise of kṛita age, when he follows 3/4 of *daṇḍanīti*[40] he creates tretā age, when he rules with 1/2 of the righteousness, he creates dwāpara[41] and when he rules over the earth denouncing *daṇḍanīti* entirely, he becomes the harbinger of the kali age.[42] An unrighteous king has been equated with Kali.[43] Thus it is obvious that in such a scheme of the Yugas, a king's conduct determined the nature of the Yugas. Thus it becomes evident that the transition from one age to the other does not necessarily imply complete dissolution of the world but suggests the transition from one social formation to other.[44] This transition is supposed to happen in multiform ways : from one age to the other, or even from one phase of the social order to the other within the framework of an age alone. The large spans of several thousand years suggested for each age do not necessarily imply a static social order or the continuation of status quo for several thousand years altogether. Possibly in the large spans of several millennia ascribed to a particular age, several phases of social transformation can be identified within that particular age. The transformation implies growth and change in the social order which are universal.[45] Such phases of transition are suggested by the sage Mārkaṇḍeya[46] who remeniscently saw an earlier or defunct social order in the womb of the cosmic being in a vivid manner. Significantly enough, the sage lived in the womb of the cosmic being for about more than hundred years.[47] Precisely a hundred years period has been assigned to the Saṁdhya of the kali age which probably signifies period of twilight or transition.[48] Viewed in a historical sense, the period of a hundred years or so constitutes to be a significant period for such a transition. What Mārkaṇḍeya saw in the womb of the cosmic being and what he narrated was probably the reminiscence and memory of the defunct social order. The theory of incarnation and reincarnation of god in different ages for the restoration of social and moral order[49] implies several incarnations of god in a particular age. It is well known that there were several

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incarnations of god in different ages e.g. Matsya, Narsiṁha, Varāha and Vāmana in the Kṛdta age, Paraśurāma in Tretā, Rāma in the period of transition from Tretā to Dwāpara and Krishṇa in the transition from Dwāpara to Kali. Kalki would incarnate in the Kali age.[50]

Like the ancient Greek philosophers, Indian thinkers also viewed the past as a model of cyclical change passing through the stages of decay and regeneration. These cycles were not treated as the cycles of history but of development[53] if we put the things in the words of F. J. Teggart.[54] This notion permeated cosmology, ancient sociology and anthropology. The concept of the yugas was thus a kaleidoscope to visualise the multiform social changes. The Yugas should not be studied in historiographic perspective where some sort of genealogy of events or happenings is given in terms of a precisely recorded, datable and identifiable time. The theory of the yugas does not elaborately explain 'how' of the happening of an event which is the prime pursuit of a historian according to Ranke. The successive yugas, on the other hand, should be studid in a developmental perspective as they project before us the timeless sequences of the emergent changes in the social order. The grasp and comprehension of the change and not the event thus appears to be the key concept of the theory of the yugas.

The different yugas thus signify a tone of change from one social order to the other. A cursory perusal of the description of the different yugas enshrined in the vast span of Indian Literature from the *Mahābhārata* down to the latest *Purāṇas* including the heterodox ones would tend to show unmistakably situations of the peace and prosperity, wars and resultant migrations, overthrow of the dynasties and governments, change in the economic systems leading either to prosperity and affluence or to adversity and destitution. With these multiform changes in the social order that take place in the wake of the changing yugas from Kṛita down to the Kali, the norms and values also change. The succeeding yugas had sometimes to accept, modify and reject the cherished values of the preceding age.

IV

Social order in the Kali Age

Viewed thus as a period of transition, the Yugānta i. e. the approach of the end of Kali age has been elabortely described in the *Mahābhārata*. The leading characteristic of the age is subversion of the existing social order.[56] The traditional social order based on the functional châturvarṇya system is thoroughly disturbed. The Brāhmaṇas take to the functions of the Śūdras, the

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Śūdras to those of the Vaiśyas's in earning wealth. The Vaiśyas and the Kshatriyas adopt the functions of the Brāhmaṇas.[57] The Brāhmaṇas would give up sacrifices, tarpaṇa, study (of the Vedas), staff and deer skin and start eating the things indiscriminately that are not ordained for them. They would forsake meditation and the Śūdras would become used to the same.[58] There would not be a single Brāhmaṇa adhering to his prescribed duties[59] and vows condemning the Vedas, and performing sacrifices or oblations, and not be deluded by vulgar logic.[60] They would grow so low and mean in their conduct as would unhesitatingly accept donations even from sinful, unrighteous and hypocrite kings.[61] The Brāhmaṇas whose life was treated as a symbol of austerity and sacrifice would become covetous and infatuated; they would ostensibly pretend to be pious and religious and roam about on the earth for alms.[62] Religion would not be a thing of practice for them but a pretention, a cover for the people.[63] Greed would be rampant all around and even the property of the Brāhmaṇas which was held sacrosanct would be unhesitatingly consumed by the people.[64] They would be persecuted by the lowly persons i.e. Śūdras and would not get any protector.[65] Being tortured by the robbers and over-burdened with taxes imposed by he wicked kings,[662] the Brāhmaṇas would flee to other places in fear and take shelter in inaccessible regions like rivers and mountains, etc. Loosing all their patience, they would take to the service of the Śūdras which was prohibited for them. They would degenerate to a servile position[67] and fall down from their ritual status of purity.[68]

The conduct of the Kshatriyas would be no better. At the Yugānta, i.e. when the Kali age approximates to end, the Kshatriyas would be avaricious, infatuated with false pride and vanity, unable and unwilling to protect their subjects and would take delight in punishing them. They would be intent upon killing one another, pretending to be wise without having knowledge. They would be virtually thornlike on the earth, i. e. instead of being saviours, they would be devourers.[69]

The Śūdras wound tend to upward social mobility and would start preaching religious duties and not render service unto the Brāhmanas.[70] The Sūdras would be accosted respectfully by Brāhmaṇas and the latter, on the other hand, would be rediculed by the former.[71] The same will happen also in respect of the Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas.[72]

The Foregoing description reveals a deep-rooted crisis in society when the established order was turned topsy turvy.[73] Widespread miscengenation would become the order of the day as a result of mutually indiscreet cohabitation between the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras.[74] Bereft of virtues,

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the Brāhmaṇas will become equal to the Śūdras.[75] All distinguishing traces of the respective orders of the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas etc. shall disappear and consequently the society would become a society of equals and have a casteless character.[76] Commensality and eating of the same type of food would be common.[77] In such a society the Śūdras and Chāṇḍālas would tend to upward social mobility, occupy the middle order of the Vaiśyas; the Vaiśyas would be downgraded to the position of the Śūdras.[78] Thus at the Yugānta, all sorts of established social bonds would disappear.[79]

V

Economic Degeneration

The age betrays an impression of crushing economic decay and the resultant changes in the social and moral values. Kali is projected in the epic as an age of agricultural decay when the production would considerably go down. The rainfall would be scarce and sporadic[80] and long spells of drought have been mentioned.[81] Unseasonal downpour would be frequent.[82] As a result, people would be forlorn of hunger and thirst.[83] Many feeble and weak person would die of starvation.[84] Unseasonal rainfall would naturally lead to poor germination of seeds and lesser yield from the fields and gardens.[85] Even smell, essence and flavour of edible articles would fade out. The flowers would produce flowers and not fruits.[86]

Aforesaid conditions led to extreme destitution of the people, hunger, disease,[87] physical weakness[88] and even premature death[89] owing to undernourishment. The milch cattle would either vanish[90] or their milch potential be reduced[91] and people would start milching goats and sheep. The widespread scarcity of cereals, milk, fruits and juices[92] would compel people to subsist on fish and meat a diet which was prescribed only for a certain categories of people. The low productivity of land would drive people to cultivate lowlands or pastures by yoking cows and premature calves to plough.[93] They would dibble even the bank of rivers with hoes and sow seeds there in the pathetic hope of producing more food. Even this would not help.[94] Thus natural calamities are stated to accentuate the miseries of people and precipitated the crisis[95] at the end of the Kali age.

Condition of trade and commerce would be equally worse with lesser margin of profit. The traders would not hesitate in cheating customers deceitfully by underweighing their goods with false weights and measures greedily in order to fetch more profit.[96] Probably the state exchequer would go deplete

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owing to declining agricultural production, trade and the rising influx of the foreigners who would have drained out country's wealth either through constant warfare, loot, plunder, ravages or even over taxation. Repeated references to the burdensome taxes point out to a very bad shape of country's economy. People would be inflicted by excessive taxes imposed on them by the wicked and alien kings,[97] and consequently they would migrate to other places in different quarters to get rid of the taxes. Householders would turn into cheater for fear of taxes.[98] In order to get rid of forced labour, they would find shelter in the hermitages and subsist on roots and fruits.[99] Even the Brāhmaṇas would take trading as their means of livilihood in the guise of hermits and wear beard etc. for show.[100]

The cities and towns would be deserted and migration to other places will be frequent.[101] The pleasure grounds and the temples of the cities would be frequented by wild creatures and wicked persons.[102] The reasons for the the desertion of the towns and migration apparently seem to have been partly economic destitution[103] and partly growing insecurity on account of foreign invasion.[104] Foreign elements in population increased disturbing the established social order.[105] Near panic conditions suggesting insecurity[106] drove people hurriedly to other places leaving behind their kith and kin.[107] People migrated to such areas as yielding abundant food[108] and to the ports and cities where alternative means of livelihood were available.[109]

Shortage, poverty and destitution all being the results of widespread economic decay made people greedy. Even whose who resolutely adhered to their prescribed duties by observing rituals and not eating food given by others, would greedily eat the śrāddha ceremonies[110] and accept things given by wicked people.[111] Wealth of certain categories of men like the Brāhmaṇas, women, widows, noble persons, one's kith and kin and miserly people would grudgingly be taken away by the people.[112] The avaricious kings would be tempted to grab others wealth[113] by fraudulent means. Only material considerations would govern social behaviour, for instance, poor teachers would be condemned and the friends, relations and others would recognise the bonds of wealth only.[114] Savings if any would not be huge and even a small saving would render people proud.[115] Credibility became low and a crisis of confidence took place[116]; one would not believe in another so much so that even a brother would deceive his brother.[117] People would not like to help their fellow-being.[118] Householders would turn into robbers owing to oppressive taxes as noticed above. The Brāhmaṇas would take to trade and pursue it in the garb of ascetics. The Brāhmaṇas and brahmachārīs wearing beard for show only would be swayed away by greed.[119]

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VI

Moral Degeneration and Change in Values

These crises led to increasing change in the value system of men. Unrighteousness, immorality and laxity of sex behaviour suggest that Kali age would be characterised by all round decay. The epic repeatedly suggests that during this age 3/4 of righteousness would disappear and unrighteousness become rampant.[120] People would perform religious obligations only in a symbolic manner spreading false tentacles of virtue[121] pompously. Hypocrisy and narrowmindedness would govern the actions of men. People would pretend to observe virtues.[122] Sex behaviour would be characterised by laxity[123] so much so that women would deceive their husbands, cohabit with others like their servants and pets. Prostitution became commonplace.[124] Fidelity in the mutual relations of husbands and wives would be absent.[125]

The description of Yugānta narrated above has been projected as a symptom of the socio-economic malady. When mutually opposite traits characterise human behaviour, it should be taken as a prelude to the decline of the existing social order and beginning of transition.[126]

What were the factors that precipitated the end of an age ? What caused such a widespread socio-economic turmoil in the society leading to insecurity, poverty, overtaxation, change of values, premature death and similar other stuations ? It is not difficult to find out the reasons of the crises. The authors of the epic were overwhelmingly concerned with growing influx of the foreign elements in society. The foreign tribes that have been mentioned in epic included those who belonged to the alien countries and to other peripheral regions inside the country. Among the peripheral tribes mention has been made of the Āndhras, Pulindas, Śūdras and the Ābhīras. The foreigners mentioned in *Mahābhārata* included the Yavanas, Śakas, Kambojas and Aurṇikas.[127] The Āndhras and Pulindas were outlandish people residing in the plateau of the western Deccan and the Vindhyan tracts and had started making a menacing dent into the established social order of northern India around second century B. C. The Āndhras succeeded in gaining political power in the Deccan as early as second century B. C. and consequently became a force to reckon with. The Pulindas are known to have made serious inroads into Indian society as late as in 5th century of the Christian era during the times of Kumāragupta I. Similarly the Ābhiras and the Śūdras were the two other peripheral tribes living in the Panjab and southern Rajasthan and are known from Patañjali and the classical writers.[128] The Śūdras never beeame politically important in Indian history but for a single instance, but the Ābhiras

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are known to have carved out a principality for them in about second century A. D. at the cost of the Śakas of western India. Since then onwards they are regularly mentioned and probably ruled from parts of eastern Malwa to the eastern fringes of Bundelkhand around Jhansi-Mahoba. The Śakas and Yavanas were the Scythians and the Indo-Greeks,[192] respectively who entered, into India from central Asia around 2nd century B. C. and the Śakas continued to rule over parts of northern India upto 3rd-4th century A. D. The Śakas were finally routed by Chandragupta II and the Yavanas gradually were absorbed into Indian society by adopting Indian religions and customs. The Kambojas were probably the descendents of the Indo-Iranians popularly known later on as the Sassanian and Parthians who occupied parts of north western India in first second centuries of the Christian era. The Auriṇkas also were probably some wool-clad foreign people whose identity is doubtful and needs further work to identify them. The foreigners have generally been mentioned as Mlechcha in Indian literature and inscriptions.

What was the impact of the foreigners influx on Indian social order is an important question for consideration. Although the epic treats foreign invasions of the Indo-Greeks and Śakas as the main reasons of socio-economic decline, nowhere it has given details of the nature and level of destruction and its impact. The evidence of the Mahābharata is neither detailed nor perfect in this regard. However, a faithful historical narrative of the foreign invasions of the Yavanas and Śakas and its deep rooted impact on Indian social order is preserved in the Yugapurāṇa which is a work independent of the Puraṇic tradition. A clear picture of the social upheaval brought about by the aforesaid foreign invasions which evidently took place in the Kali age may be reconstructed on the basis of the accounts contained in the epic and the Yugapurāṇa. The narrative of the Yugapurāṇa compares very well with the general tone of the epic account of the Yugānta.

The traditional social order based on varṇa system was already weakened on account of the heterodox religious movements, the champions of which were the Nanda Maurya kings. The attack on the social order was further intensified with the Greek invasion under the leadership of Demetrius,[130] the echo of whose name and glory resounds in the Yugapurāṇa and other literary texts and one inscription of Kharavela. The great battle of Paṭaliputra seems to have been terrible.[131] People would be tortured in the fierce battle of weapons; all classes i.e. Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras would sink lowly to the status of the Anāryas and forfeit their respective soial status.[132] They would become irreligious as well. The distinguishing marks of the different

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classes e.g. dress and conduct would vanish and all people would look alike. The Bhikshukas[133] and the Vṛishalas would be commonplace; the sacrificial fire would either disappear or be performed seldom at low level.[134] Śūdras would[135] flourish and the entire earth be rendered depopulated and blood-stained.[136] The authors of the epic were very much concerned with the growing menance of the *Mlechchhification* of society which was posing serious threats not only politically but socially, morally and culturally also.[137] Foreign elements in Indian population also increased to some extent.[138] In an atmosphere of growing political insecurity and foreign invasions, the entire earth i.e. India became deprived of delights and festivities[139]; even the Yajñas were not performed.[140] Loot and plunder both at the hands of foreign marauders and native kings became frequent. Even the wealth of women and ascetics was not held sacrosanct.[141] The taxes were increased by the wicked kings and the noble Brāhmaṇas were tortured by the robbers.[142] Everywhere there was panic and there was no saviour to protect life and property of the people.[143] The cities and towns were deserted.[144] Temples and pleasure grounds did not receive visitor but were frequented by wicked persons and wild animals.[145] Probably as a result of foreign invasion rapes and molestation became so frequent as to make even minor girls pregnant[146], lives of people was cut short; and longevity decreased[147] and number of the widows increased.[148] The chastity of the women dwindled and the institution of marriage declined.[149]

In the light of the aforesaid facts, it appears that the Indian society was going through a quick transformation under the impact of the influx of outlandish tribes and foreign people. They posed a serious danger to the established social order. With their influx, the political system based on the maintenance of the varṇa-dharma gradually became defunct. There was no body to uphold the chāturvarṇya and as a result, transverse social mobility became prevalent. On the economic front also owing to increasing insecurity, migrations, loot and plunder generated by foreign invasion became frequent. Production declined, taxes increased and a crisis of confidence overtook the minds of the people. The Yugānta description in the *Mahābhārata*, therefore, signifies a transition period in Indian society when a quick change in values was taking place. Probably these situations made a deep impact on the Indian society and cognition was given to the same in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. The genesis of the turmoil can be traced back to about fourth century B.C. when the Macedonians invaded India and lowly Nanda-Maurya rulers appeared on the scene.

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Thus a serious cleavage was made into the varṇa order by the heterodox religious systems and foreign invasions. The situation was further aggravated by the Indo-Greek's invasion. The decline of the Varṇa system after the invasion of Demetrius was arrested to some extent temporarily by Pushyamitra Śuṅga and his priest Patanjali. Around this period, Krishṇa was made an instrument in the Bhagwadagītā to reestablish the Chāturvarṇya system. Manu also tried to reinstate the Brāhmaṇas to their former glory but succeeded only partially. While these attempts were being made to restore the social order it received another set back from the inroads of the Śakas into the country around 2nd century B.C. who established themselves in Śakadwīpa or Indo-Scythia. Later on they established their foothold in Saurastra, Ujjain and Avantī around first century B.C. Yugapurāṇa has preserved almost a contemporary, eyewitness, historcal account of the Śaka conquest of India under the leadership of Amlāṭa whose historicity and identity has not been fully established.[150] The successive rule of several Śaka rulers has been mentioned in the text[151] who were immensely greedy.[152] The nature of devastation wrought by the Śakas at Pāṭaliputra under the leadership of Amlāṭa was tremendous. They overpowered the whole country and one fourth of the population was destroyed and vast treasures were plundered[153] by violent methods. The male population was almost annihilated to such an extent as ten to twenty women were constrained to marry a single male.[154] The very sight of a male evoked astonishment among the females.[155] The females were in majority and looked after the agricultural operation owing to the destruction of the male population.[156] Amlāṭa brought about the large scale disruption of the chāturvarṇya system.[157] The contents of the Yugapurāṇa reveal the awareness of its author of the political conditions of Magadha which was the hub of the political activity of India. It records the history of Magadha till the period of the final breakdown of the Śuṅga-Kaṇva empire under the impact of the Indo-Greeks and Śakas. Thus it seems to contain an earlier and almost contemporary account of Śaka invasion on India[158] although it might have been penned down somewhat later.[159] It took overwhelming proportions by the end of second-third centuries of the Christian era when it practically became impossible for the thinking people to remain blind to these incursions into their social order, and they started expressing serious concern about the changing order.

VIII

The question of the date of the Yugānta passages of the epic needs consideration. In the *Mahābhārata*[160] it is said that the Yugānta was described

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on the basis of the narration given by the sage Vāyu. The description by sage Vāyu formed the arche-type for the epic description of the Yugānta. This statement tempted some scholars to suggest that these portions of the epic were largely drawn upon the extant *Vāyupurāṇa*.[161] Patil holds the material of the *Vayupurāṇa* to be older than that of the epic and places it round the beginning of the Christian era.[161] An echo of the same situation at the Yugānta is found in the *Vāyupurāṇa*.[163] A comparison of the Yugānta passages of the *Vāyupurāṇa* with the *Mahābhārata* does not reveal any striking similarity and thereby does not make out a case for borrowing from the *Vāyupurāṇa*.[164] The *Vāyupurāṇa* records that in the Kali age the authority of the Smṛitis would be discarded[165], the Nirgranthas and Kapālins would dominate.[166] These and many other references clearly indicate that the Yuga sections of the *Vāyu purāṇa* in its present from are definitely later than that of the *Mahābhārata* Evidently, the epic material on Yugānta is older than any of the extent *Purāṇa*. If it is at all held to be a case of borrowing from the *Mahābhārata* for which there is slender evidence, we may simply say that the said *Vāyupurāṇa* is irretrievablity lost. There is no evidence for relationship between *Vāyupurāṇa* and epic.[6] In this connection Winternitz has rightly observed that 'there certainly existed an ancient *Purāṇa* under this name (i. e. *Vāyupurāṇa*) and undoubtedly there is still preserved in our text much of the ancient work which is still preserved in our text much of the ancient work which is probably not later than 5th century A. D.'[167]

The general tone of the Yugānta section of the epic resembles much with that of the Yugapurāṇa as seen above. The Yugapuraṇa appears to be a faithfully historical and matter of the fact narrative recording the history of imperial Magadha coming down to the breakdown of the Śuṅga empire by the advent of the Indo-Greeks and Śakas on the banks of river Sipra.[168] Thus it is assigned to about later half of the first century B. C. The Yugānta section of the epic appears to have been anterior to the *Vāyupurāṇa* and posterior to the Yugapurāṇa. As such it may be safely assigned to a period not later than 3rd-4th century A. D.

References

1. *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Bareilley, 1969), Chaps. 57-59; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, Chaps. 29-32; *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, VI. 1-2; *Matsya Purāṇa*, Chaps. 142, 144, 145 & 165; *Kūrma Purāṇa*, I. 28-29; *Padma Purāṇa*, Pātālakhaṇḍa, Chap. 110; *Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Chaps. 57-59; *Varāha Purāṇa*, Chap. 68; *Brahma Purāṇa*, Chaps. 223-231; Some Jain Purāṇas also contain narrative about the Kali Age.

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2. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, C. 200-275 A.D.; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, C. 200-275 A.D.; *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, C. 100-350 A.D; all the other Purāṇas have been assigned between C. 700-1150 A.D. and in some cases even later.
3. *The Mahābhārata* (ed.), V.S. Sukthankar (Poona edition, 1942), III. 188-190; III 187. 30-32; XII. 12. 27-29; XII. 70. 72-25; XII. 55-74; XII. 224. 18-30 and 60-70.
4. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, (Bareilley, 1969), 7.774; 22.11.
5. Cf. D.R. Patil, *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa* (Poona, 1946), p. 69.
6. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 22. 4-5 7. D. R. Patil, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
8. *Mbh.* (Poona ed.), III. 186. 57 60. 9. *Vāyu Purāṇa*. 57.33; 10-12.
10. *Mbh.* (Poona ed.), III. 186. 18-22.
11. A.A. Macdonel and A.B. Keith, *The Vedic Index*, (Varanasi, 1958), Vol. I, pp. 3-4.
12. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 31.49. 13. *Ibid.*, 57. 3-4.
14. Cf. *Āryabhatīyam* by Āryabhaṭa, (translated and edited in Hindi by R. N. Rai, New Delhi, 1976), p. 7; 89-97.
15. Robert Lingat, *The Classical Law of India*, (New Delhi, 1973), pp. 188-189.
16. *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. XVI, No. 4, Budh Prakash, 'The Hindu Philosophy of History', pp. 494-505. 17. *Manusmṛiti*, IX. 302.
18. *Ibid.*, IX. 302. 19. D.R. Patil *op. cit.*, p. 77.
20. Our attention for the first time was drawn to the *Yugapurāṇa* by J.H. Kern. See, *Bṛihtsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira, *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1814), Introduction, pp. 32-40. *JBORS*, Vol. I, (1917), K.P. Jasywal, 'Chronological survey in the Purānic chronicles and the Kaliyuga era', pp. 255-58; *ibid.*, Vol. XIV (1928), K.P. Jayswal, 'Demetrius, Khāravela and Gārgisaṁhitā', pp. 127-128; *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV(1928), K.P. Jayswal, 'Historical Data in the Gārgisaṁhitā and the Brāhmin Empire', p. 397; *ibid.*, Vol. XVI (1930), pp. 18-68, K.N. Dhruwa' paper; *JRAS* of great Britain and Ireland, Vol. V, (1963) D.C. Sircar, 'Account of the Yavanas in the *Yuga Purāṇa*', pp. 7-20; A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, (New York, 1954), p. 321. *Yuga Purāṇam*, (ed.) D.R. Mankad (Vallabhavidyanagar, 1951), Introduction, pp. 4-22; B.S. Upadhyaya, *Bhārtīya Samaja Kā Aitihāsika Vishleshaṇa*, (New Delhi, 1973), pp. 26-28; 72-73; 136-142; 181-183; 234-35. He has extensively utilized the historical data of the *Yugaparāṇa* to show the impact of foreign invasions on Indian society. The text describes Kṛita age in eighteen lines, tretā in seventeen, dvāpara in twenty nine and kali in one hundred and seventy one lines.
21. *JBORS*, Vol. I (1917), K.P. Jayswal, 'Chronological Survey in the Purāṇic chronicles and Kaliyuga era', pp. 256-257; *JBORS*, Vol. XIV, (1928) idem 'Demetrius, Khāravela and, Gārgīsaṁhitā, pp. 127-28, Historical Data in the Gārgisaṁhitā and the Brāhmin Empire, pp. 397 ff.
22. *JBORS*, Vol. XIV (1928), K.P. Jayswal, 'Historical Data in the Gārgīsaṁhitā and the Brāhmin Empire,' pp. 398-399.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 415. 24. *Ibid.*, pp. 419-420.
25. A. L. Basham, *op. cit.*, p. 321.
26. *Kushāṇa Studies* (Allahabad, 1968), B. N. S. Yadava, 'Some Aspects of Changing Social order in India during the Saka-Kūshāṇa Age', pp. 75 ff.

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27. R. S. Sharma, 'Problems of social Formation in early India' being the General President's address delivered at the XXXVI session of the Indian History Congress, Aligarh (D. C. 29-31, 1975), pp. 8-9; *'Proceedings of Indian History Congress'', XXXVth Session*, Aligarh, idem, (Calcutta, 1976). pp. 10-11.
28. Cf R. A. Nisbet, *Social Change and History* (New York, 1972), p. 4.
29. Cf Herbert Read, *English Prose Style*, (New York, 1952), p. 23.
30. Irawati Karve, *Yuganta*, (Poona, 1974), p. 163.
31. *Mbh.* (Poona ed.), III. 186. 22; III. 188 85-86; Even in the Marxist view of history, social orders are envisaged forming embryonically in the wombs of the preceding orders and each transition is akin to a new birth (requiring the assistance of the midwife revolution); see R. A. Nisbet, *'Social Change and History'*, (New York, 1972), pp. 5-6.
32. Cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, I. 53; I. 120-121; 22.1; See, D. R. Patil, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-77.
33. *Mbh.* (Poona ed.), XII. 326. 104; III. 185.2. The present 'manvamtara' is narrated which starts from Manu s/o Vivaswān.
34. *Mbh.* III. 186-23.
35. Cf. A.L. Basham, *op. cit* , p. 321. Hesiod (C. 800 B. C.) who drew from mythical elements presents a neat view of the developmental cycles for the first time in western world. He tells us about the sequence of the races of man that have inhabited the earth : Golden, Silver, Bronze and Iron. Hesiods sequence bears a striking parallelism with the concept of the Yugas in so far as their characteristics are concerned. Iron age in which he lived is a dismal age characterised by evil, baseness, hardship and incessant strife, exacting labour for cultivation and exhaustion. Hesiod would have borrowed it from the idea system of Egypto-Babylonian and Persian world of antiquity, see, Hesiod, *'Work and Days'*, lines. 110-200.
36. *Mbh.* (Poona ed.) III. 188. 10-12; 187. 31-32.
37. Cf. Irawati Karve, *op. cit* , p. 163.
38. *Mbh.* (Poona ed.), XII. 70.6 and 25; XII. 91.6.
39. *Ibid.*, XII. 70.7. 40. *Ibid* , XII. 70.14. 41. *Ibid.*, XII. 70.16.
42. *Ibid.*, XII. 70.18. 43. *Ibid.*, XII. 12.29.
44. The *Yugapurāṇa* containing 235 lines or 117½ verses in all is an important text which gives a general account of the social conditions in the different yugas in a detailed fashion. Presenting a detailed account of the social changes in the different ages, it highlights the instruments change. According to it the transition from one age to the other is brought about by means of a large scale warfare e.g. at the end of Kṛita age a fierce battle known as the Tārakāmaya took place (lines 23-26); at the end of Tretā, Paraśurāma waged twenty one battles to exterminate the Kshatriyas (lines 29-45) and at the end of Dwāpara, the Mahābhārata battle was fought (lines 46-74). Though the historicity of these battles can not be vouchsafed, the changes thus brought about are termed metaphorically as Yugānta or Yugakshaya in the *Yugapurāṇa* (lines 100, 100).
45. Notions of growth and change are also encountered in the western philosophy which find expression in the Greek concept of 'physis'. The word 'physis' was translated originally as 'nature' by the Romans who meant by it the physical world including

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the physical aspects of man and society. But the Greeks took this word originally to mean the generative power in the world, but later on with the rise of Greek scientific rationalism it was taken to mean growth. Everything in the universe whether physical or social grows and has its own physis; see, R.A. Nisbet, *Social change and History* (New York, 1972), pp. 22ff: F. M. Cornford, *The origins of Greek Philosophical Thought* (Combridge, 1952), pp. 179-181.

46. *Mbh.* (Poona ed.), III. 186. 2-3 and 80-110.
47. *Ibid.*, III. 186. 110. 48. *Ibid.*, III. 186-21.
49. *BG.*, IV. 7-8., *Mbh.*, III. 187. 26-28. 50. *Mbh.*, III. 189. 89-90.
51. In Greek Philosophy strands of both historical and developmental change are encountered the former represented by Herodotus, Thucydides and Polybius and the latter by Heracleitus Plato and Aristotle as suggested by R.A. Nisbet, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-36.
52. F. J. Teggart, *Theory of History* (New Haven, 1925) has drawn a distinction between history and development. The distinction may well be applied to the Yugas which present the social conditions in a developmental perspective.
53. *Mbh.*, III. 186.28.
54. *Mbh.*, III. 186. 26; XII. 70-20; Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on *Mbh*, III. 190.18. (Calcutta, 1878).
55. *Ibid.*, III. 186. 27-28. 56. *Ibid*, 186.31. 57. *Ibid*, III 188. 26.
58. *Ibid.*, III. 186.38. 59. *Ibid.*, III. 188.38, 57
60. *Ibid.*, III. 188.14; Nīlakaṇṭha on *Mbh.*, III. 190.14 (Calcutta, 1878) refers to the symbolic performance of religious rituals by hypocrite people.
61. *Ibid.*, III. 188. 57; Cf. Nīlakaṇṭha on *Mbh.*, III. 190. 75 (Calcutta, 1978).
62. *Mbh.*, III. 188.58; See Nīlakaṇṭha on *Mbh.*, III. 190.59. (Calcutta edition).
63. Certain categories of Brāhmaṇas were not exempted from taxes and forced labour. *Mbh.*, (Poona ed.), XII. 77.7.
64. *Mbh.*, III. 188. 58-62; Nīlakaṇṭha on *Mbh.*, III. 190.62 (Calcutta, 1878, ed.) observes that the noble Brāhmaṇas would be apprehensive of detection like crows as they were engaged in lowly occupations.
65. *Ibid.*, III. 186.27. 66. *Ibid.*, III. 188. 32-34; III. 186.26; III. 188.18.
67. *Ibid.*, III. 188. 63-64. 68. *Mbh.*, III. 186. 33; III. 186. 26.
69. *Ibid*, III. 186. 31. 70. *Ibid.*, III. 186. 26, 31; III. 188. 19, 64.
71. *Ibid*, III. 188. 18. 72. *Ibid.*, III. 188. 41.
73. *Ibid.*, III. 188. 71; Cf. Nīlakaṇṭha on III. 190. 73 (Calcutta ed.).
74. *Ibid.*, III. 188. 40; Cf. Nīlakaṇṭha on III. 190. 41 (Calcutta ed.).
75. *Ibid.*, III. 188. 19, 69. 76. *Ibid.*, III. 188. 72.
77. *Mbh.*, XII. 70. 24.
78. *Ibid.*, III. 186. 56; A protracted famine of 12 years has been mentioned in *Yuga-purāṇa*, lines, 111-115; see, *JBORS*, XIV, 414.
79. *Ibid*, III. 188. 69. 80. *Ibid.*, III. 188. 76. 81. *Ibid.*, III. 186. 57.
82. *Ibid*, III. 186. 37, 44; III. 188. 68, 76. 83. *Ibid.*, III. 186. 34; III. 188, 68.
84. *Ibid.*, XII. 70. 21. A plague has been referred to in the *Yuga Purāṇa*, lines 112-113.
85. *Ibid.*, III. 186. 35. 86. *Ibid.*, XII. 70. 20. 87. *Ibid.*, III. 188. 21.

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88. *Ibid.*, III. 186. 37.

89. *Mbh*, XII. 230. 16; III. 186. 36; *The Yugapurāṇa*, (ed.) see, Nilakaṇṭha on *Mbh.* III. 188. 42 (Culcutta edition), D.R. Mankad, lines, 187-235. refers to acute scarcity of water in Bhadreyaka region the identity of which is uncertain. There people are said to have subsisted on vegetables, fruits and rarely on corns. The same text (lines, 111-115) edited by K. P. Jayswal reveals people suffering from hunger and thirst around Bhojakata region. The people there subsisted on fish and moth. See, *JBORS*, Vol. XIV, p. 414.

90. *Ibid.*, III. 188. 27. 91. *Ibid.*, III. 188. 23.

92. M.D.N. Sahi, *Famine of in Gangetic Valley mentioned in the Yugapurāṇa—Date and Economic Aspect*, pp. 2-9.

93. *Mbh.*, III. 186-46; III. 188. 53.

94. *Mbh.*, 188. 61; 70; *The Yugapurāṇa* (ed.) D. R. Mankad, lines 124, 135 record the greedy Śaka kings. Similarly the revenue exactions of the Greek kings have also been noted by K. P. Jayswal in the *Yugapurāṇa*, lines. 53-57; See, *JBORS*, Vol. XIV, p. 418.

95. *Ibid.*, III. 186. 40.

96. *Ibid.*, III. 188. 70-71. The critical edition of the epic reads as follows at III. 188. 71:

निर्विशेषा जनपदा नरावृष्टिभिरर्दिताः
आश्रमानभिपत्स्यंति फलमूलोपजीविनः ।

whereas Gitapress text of the epic which is based on the Bombay edition reads at III. 190. 73 as under :

निर्विशेषा जनपदास्तथा विष्टिकरार्दिताः
आश्रमानुपलप्स्यन्ति फलमूलोपजीविनः ।

The critical edition shows the latter half of the first pada under a wavy line suggesting a doubtful reading. The learned editor of the text preferred the reading 'Vṛishti to Vishṭi although he treated it to be a case of doubtful reading. Out of a total number of twenty two MSS used for the adopted text, thirteen MSS support the reading Vishṭi which appears to be more correct and appropriate in the light of the context in which it is used in the epic. Nīlakaṇṭha on III. 190. 73 has also followed the reading 'Vishṭi' and interprets Vishṭikaraḥ as those who get works done without paying wages. One MS reads 'Vṛidhi' and the remaining eight MSS read variously as Vṛishṭikarā or Anāvṛihṭi-bhirarditaḥ. Since large spells of famine and natural calamities are said to characterise the Kali age, the sufferings of the people on account of rains seem to be incongruous. We have here followed the text as given in the Gita Press edition of the epic.

97. *Ibid*, III. 186. 40-41. 98. *Ibid*, III. 186. 33; III. 182. 82-83.

99. *Mbh.*, III. 186. 36; III. 188. 51. Cf. Nīlakaṇṭha on III. 188. 42. (Bombay ed.) observes that shortage of grain drove people shamelessly to the cross roads.

100. *Ibid*, III. 186. 30; Cf. *Yugapurāṇa*, (ed.) D. R. Mankad, lines 129-130; 179-80. However archaeological evidences for the period reveal increasing prosperity which does not tally with the present picture of famine and poverty. It appears that the author wanted to express his deep concern over the declining conditions rather than depiction of the actualities of the situation.

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101. *Ibid.*, III 186. 29-30; III. 188-29, 37, 45, 52, 70.
102. *Ibid*, III. 188. 58. 103. *Ibid.*, III. 188. 82-84. 104. *Ibid.*, III. 188. 43.
105. *Ibid.*, III. 188. 83. 106. *Ibid.*, III. 188. 24. 107. *Ibid*, III. 188. 31.
108. *Ibid.*, III. 188. 30, 34, 57. 109. *Mbh.*, III. 188. 30, 34, 57.
110. *Ibid.*, III 188. 36; 186. 50; In the *Yugapurāṇa* references to the greedy Śaka kings abound; See, *Yugapurāṇa* (Ed) D.R. Mankad, lines 124, 135.
111. *Ibid*, III. 188 73, 82, 50; cf. Nīlakaṇṭha on III. 190. 75 (Calcutta).
112. *Ibid.*, III. 186. 40; 188. 50. 113. *Ibid*, III. 188. 39, 22, 46.
114. *Ibid*, III. 188. 37, 39; See, Nīlakaṇṭha on *Mbh.*, III. 190. 38 (Culcutta ed.).
115. *Ibid.*, III 188. 50; 188. 82. 116. *Ibid.*, III. 186. 40-41.
117. *Mbh*, III. 188. 12-14; III. 188. 40; III. 186. 47, 49; III. 187. 32; XII. 327. 76, IIIt 149. 23; III. 186. 32; See Nīlakaṇṭha on *Mbh.*, III. 188. 44 and III. 190. 14. (Calcutta ed.)
118. *Ibid.*, III. 186. 25; III. 188. 14. 119. *Ibid.*, III. 186. 55. 43.
120. *Ibid.*, III. 186. 55.
121. *Ibid*, III. 186. 35-36; 188. 51; Nīlakaṇṭha commenting on III. 188. 42 says tha. women would treat their braided hair as thorn which were traditionally taken as the symbols of their chastity and fidelity. Such women as treating their locks like thorn would frequent cross-roads. Commenting on III. 188. 41, he says that the women would be rather shameless in their amorous behaviour in arousing passion among men and cites the case of vanga (Bengal) in these matters.
122. *Ibid.*, III. 188. 49; *Yugapurāṇa*, lines, 168. 169, also implies almost a similar situation.
123. *Ibid.*, III. 186. 28, 31; 188. 64.
124. *Mbh.*, III. 186. 30. However the *Yugapurāṇa* shows no awareness about the Ābhiras who were instrumental in uprooting the Sakas in some parts of India. This fact has been taken to be a datum point by K.P. Jayswal for fixing the date of Yugapurāṇa; see *JBORS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 398-99, K. P. Jayswal, 'Demetrius, Khāravela and Gārgisaṁhitā'.
125. *Mahābhāshya*, I. 2. 3; W. W. Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge, 1936) p. 712; *Mbh.*, (Poona ed.), IX. 36. 1; *Bibliotheca Historica*, 611, refers to the Sodrai below the confluence of Hypanis and Acasines; H.C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, (Sixth ed.), p. 254, takes their habitat being below the confluence of Jhelum and Chenab; Ptolemy, *Geography*, BK. VII, chap. 1 refers to Sogdiaoi; Strabo, *Geographica* (London, 1889-90), XV. II. 8. Knows of Sogdol.
126. *JBORS*, Vol. I, (1917), K.P. Jayswal, 'Chronological Survey in the Puranic chronicles and the Kali Yuga era', p. 256; *JBORS*, Vol. XIV, K. P. Jayswal, 'Demetrius, Kharavela and Gārgisaṁhitā; p. 398. The equation of the Yavanas with Indo-greeks has been accepted on all hands.
127. *Yugapurāṇa*, line 111; Cf. K.P. Jayswal, *JBORS*, Vol. XIV. (1928) pp. 398ff; *Yugapurāṇa* (ed.) D.R. Mankad, p. 10.
128. *Mbh.*, lines. 97-119.
129. *The Yugapurāṇa*, Line 100-101; Cf. *Mbh.*, III. 188. 71; also see, Nīlakaṇṭha on *Mbh.*, III. 190. 73.

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130. *The Yugapurāṇa* Line. 105; Cf. *Mbh.*, III. 188. 64; Cf. *JBORS*, Vol. XIV. K. P. Jayswal, 'Historical Data in the Gārgīsaṁhitā and the Brahmin Empire', pp. 410-11.
131. *The Yugapurāṇa*, lines. 104-106; Cf. *Mbh.*, (Poona ed.), III. 186. 110, III. 188. 58, 62; XII. 70. 21.
132. *The Yugapurāṇa*, line 110; Cf. *Mbh.*, III. 186. 33; III. 188. 41.
133. *The Yugapurāṇa*, line 119; Cf. *Mbh.*, III. 186. 33.
134. *Mbh.*, III. 186. 29; III. 188. 29, 37, 45, 52, 70; Cf. *Yugapurāṇa*, (ed.) D. R. Mankad, lines. 106-107.
135. *Ibid.*, III. 186. 35. 136. *Ibid.*, III. 188. 29.
137. *Ibid.*, III. 186. 25, 27; III. 188. 26, Cf. *Yugapurāṇa*, line 106.
138. *Mbh.*, III. 188. 33-34, 36; 30.
139. *Ibid.*, III. 188. 61; III. 186. 40; 188. 70. 71.
140. *Ibid*, III. 188. 58. 141. *Ibid.*, III. 186. 33; 51.
142. *Ibid.*, III. 188. 64-66; III. 186. 51, Cf. Nīlakaṇṭha on *Mbh.*, III. 188. 56.
143. *Ibid*, III. 186. 52; III. 188. 48.
144. *Ibid.*, III. 186. 32, 48, 53; III. 188. 15, 47.
145. *Ibid.*, XII. 70. 22-23.
146. *Ibid.*, III. 188. 35, 35, 44; cf. Nīlakaṇṭha on III. 188. 60 (Calcutta ed.).
147. B.S. Upadhyaya takes Amlāṭa to be a Śaka commander under whose leadership the Śakas reached as far as Pātaliputra. Cf. *Sabera, Sanjha Aur Garjan* p. 96; D.R. Mankad takes him to be a Kashmirian as suggested by the 'ṭa' ending of his name, *Yugapurāṇa*, (ed.), D. R. Mankad, p. 15. He cannot be taken to be a Kashmiri because it goes against the internal evidence of the text which categorically mentions him as a Śaka ruler.
148. *Yugapurāṇa*, lines 124-148.
149. *Yugapurāṇa*, lines 124, 135, Cf. *Mbh.*, III. 186. 38; III. 186. 36, 61, 70.
150. *Ibid*, lines 179-180. 151. *Ibid.*, lines 168, 169.
152. *Yugapurāṇa*, lines, 170-172. 153. *Ibid.* lines 166-168.
154. *The Yugapurāṇa*, lines. 137-138.
155. B.S. Upadhyaya, *Bhārtīya Samāja Kā Aitihāsika Vishleshaṇa*, (New Delhi, 1973), pp. 140-141.
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157. *Mbh.*, III. 189. 14.
158. D.R. Patil, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 4.
159. *Mbh.*, p. 14; for a contrary view, see R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and customs* (Dacca, 1940), pp. 174-189. He places the Yugadharma section of the *Vāyupurāṇa* around C. 200-275 A.D.
160. Cf. *Vāyupurāṇa*, chaps. 57-59.
161. E.W. Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, pp. 48ff.
162. *Vāyupurāṇa*, न प्रमाणं स्मृतेरस्ति etc. The very idea of the *Vāyupurāṇa* that in Kali age authority of the Smṛitis would not be valid, probably provides the key to the under-

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standing of the dharmas of the different yugas. The verses of *Parāśara Smṛiti* (I. 23-24) (ed.) V.S. Islamapurkar, (Bombay, 1893) signify that each Yuga has had its peculiar rules of dharma : Manu' rules were valid for the Kṛita age, Gautama's for the Tretā, Śaṁkha-Likhita for the Dwāpara and Parāśara for the Kali age'. This fact clearly emphasizes the changeableness of dharma in the different yugas. With the passage of time, men lose their primitive purity and become progressively incapable and week to perform ritual acts. Rites also lose their efficacy gradually. Thus when Parāśara Smṛiti claims its laws to be valid in the Kali age only, it only 'felt the influence of the milieux under which it was written and gave expression to the aspirations of the age.' Cf. Robert Lingat, *The Classical Law of India*, (Delhi, 1973), pp. 186-189; A. S. Altekar, *Sources of Hindu Dharma* (Sholapur, 1952), pp 40-41.

163. *Mbh*, (Poona ed.) Āraṇyakaparvan (ed.), V. S. Sukthankar, Introduction. p. xv.
164. M. Winternitz '*History of Indian Literature*', Vol. I, p. 554.
165. *JBORS*, Vol. XIV, K. P. Jaiswal, 'Historical Data in the Gārgi Saṁhitā and the Brahmin empire', pp. 391-99.

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A NOMADIC CASTE-CLUSTER IN A NEW CULTURE SETTING : A STUDY IN CULTURE ADAPTATION

K. C. MALHOTRA, S. B. KHOMNE,
S. K. HULBE AND S. B. KOLTE

Introduction[1]

The subject of movement of population has occupied a prominent place in social as well as biological sciences. The shift of physical space and their consequences-economic, social, political, psychological, and biological have been the focus of enquiry of many studies. A scrutiny of the literature on this subject, which is indeed vast, shows that while studies on long-distance migration (international in character), rural-urban, movements of labourers etc. exist in abundance, studies on small-distance migrations are conspicuous by their absence.[2]

India provides a unique situation where a large number of, often well documented, short-distance migration, both among the pre-literate as well as literate groups, have taken place. Studies among such groups, not involving too diverse ethnic groups, can not only help develop short-distance models, but can be used to test the predictive models advanced with respect to long-distance migrations. It is hoped that such studies may even provide perspective for a general theory of migration.

The purpose of this brief article is to provide short distance migration data on a non-pastoral nomadic caste-cluster, the Nandiwallas, who have migrated from Andhra Pradesh and now operate in western Maharashtra. We shall not discuss the present pattern of migration of these nomads, instead our concern will be three fold : (1) to examine the reasons for migration (migratory force) and to test the 'push-pull' hypothesis of Thomas[3]; (2) to examine the process of assimilation of the Nandiwallas in the framework of Merton's[4] *reference group theory* and to test Eisenstadt[5] and Gordon's[6] models of assimilation; (3) to examine the series of constraints enforced to retain identity in terms of Barth's[7] arguments; and (4) to advance a short-distance migration model.

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The data and Methods

The data on which this paper is based were collected in a series of four field works in 1969, 1972, 1975 and 1976. The techniques used in generating the data were participant observation and informal questioning. No schedules were administered.

The Nandiwalla Caste-cluster

Before we move on to examine the four aspects listed above, it will be appropriate to give a synoptic account of the Nandiwalla Caste-cluster. They number around 8,000 and could be divided into 2 distinct sovereign groups; one group which numbers around 3,000 consists of 4 hierarcichal endogamous castes-Patils, Chougules, Komtis and Daundiwallas-and operate in south western part of Maharashtra; they are true nomads and assemble once in three years at the village Wadapuri in the Indapur Taluka of Poona district. The other group consists of one endogamous group and are found scattered in atleast 38 villages of the districts of Ahmednagar, Bhir, Nasik and Aurangabad; most of these people are semi-nomads. Although in the past they exchanged brides in limited number for the last 50 years they have stopped marital exchange.

All the Nandiwallas of both these regions have migrated from Andhra Pradesh; while those who assemble at Wadapuri appear to have immigrated some 800 years ago, the other Nandiwallas migrated in the 17th century A.D.

The traditional occupation of the menfolk is to go around from village to village usually in a fixed territory, with their trained sacred bull (*nandi*), the vehicle of Lord Śiva and collect rewards for such services in cash and/or kind from the villagers (as well as spectators) who regard the *nandi* as venerable object of worship. The bulls are trained to play tricks like identifying people, answering questions, staging mock fight etc. The women folk of these people sell trinkets (needles, hairpins, beads, indigenous medicines etc.) in the villages, weekly markets and religious fairs (*Yatras*). The economic activities of these people take them to far off areas which differ in cultural and historical development; thus different bands are exposed to varying kinds of socio-cultural and ecological conditions.

Further details could be found in a paper published elsewhere by Malhotra[8].

Results and Discussion

1. Typology of Migrants

Due to lack of historical data it is not possible to ascertain the exact date of arrival of the Nandiwallas in Maharashtra; it is however certain that

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while the Wadapuri Nandiwallas migrated several centuries ago, the other Nandiwallas arrived sometime in the 17th Century A. D. Since none of the contemporary Nandiwallas actually witnessed the circumstances under which they left Andhara Pradesh, and since nothing whatsoever is documented, we analysed the folk stories of the Nandiwallas to ascertain the reasons for their migration. In both the cases it appears that the reasons for leaving Andhra Pradesh were ecological continued drought and famine. Since these non-pastoral nomads provide certain kinds of services to the mostly settled peasants or population whose economy is production-based, any shift in ecology affecting agriculture will affect their survival drastically. The reason for not going back were given as they could successfully exploit the niche. It is thus seen that the initial shift at the point of Origin was due to ecological factors and to no other disadvantageous social circumstances. And point of destination was not pre-conceived-selective, rather it was exploratory. Thus while the 'push' factor of the 'push-pull' hypothesis of Thomas is operative, the 'pull' factor of destination area is absent; pull necessarily implies prior knowledge of some relatively advantageous factors associated with the destination area. This demonstrates that even when 'pull' factor is absent migrations do take place.

In this connection Bougue[9] predicted that if 'push' factor is very strong like famine/ drought (as in the present case) origin selectivity is at a minimum; the large number of clan names encountered among the Nandiwallas tend to support this prediction.

2. *The process of assimilation*

It is a matter of common observation that a migrant group after reaching its destination (pre-concieved or exploratory) undergoes certain changes. The changes can be dealt with at several levels. Firstly we can analyse the changes in terms of Merton's manifest functions and latent functions. The former are 'those objective consequences contributing to the adjustment or adaptation of the system which are extended and recognized by participants in the system' and the latent 'functions being those which are neither intended nor recognized'[10]. In this paper we shall concern our selves with only the first type of functions and their consequences in terms of adjustment in a new cultural environ. But before we get on to it let us enumerate other available models for this purpose. Eisenstadt advanced three indices to analyse the degree of assimilation; if the assimilation is full then the folowing are the expectations: (1) acculturation i. e., learning of a number of new roles norms and custom and the internalization of these new patterns of behaviour;

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(2) personal adjustment so that there are few or no indices of personal disorganization; and (3) institutional dispersion i. e., migrants are not concentrated in one sector of the economic, political ecological or cultural spheres and hence cease to have a separate identity.

Another model developed by Gordon postulates seven sub-processes being involved in the assimilation of a group. They are : (1) Change in cultural pattern; (2) complete entry into the societal network of groups and institutions or societal structure through large scale primary group relations with the host society; (3) intermarriage, (4) lack of discriminatory behaviour by the hosts to the new group, (5) development of the host society's sense of peoplehood or ethnicity; (6) lack of prejudiced attitude towards the new group, and (7) lack of conflict with the host society on issues involving values or power in public or civil life.

These indices of Gordon, as argued by Jansen[11], can be used to analyse the assimilation process with reference to either of the three variant goals (1) adaptation to the host society and culture; (2) the 'melting pot' situation, and (3) cultural pluralism.

Let us now analyse our materials in terms of Merton's manifest functions. Firsty all the Nandiwallas made conscious efforts to learn the local Marāthī language; they all are bilinguals, and several of them, depending upon the area of operation, can speak other languages like Kannada, Hindi, and Gujarati as well. This is easily explainable as their livelihood depends upon inter-action with the local people and effective communication can only be achieved by acquiring local language. All of them, however, speak a dialect of Telugu. Retention of their own language is, as they argue, functionally advantageous; they can guide the bull using Telugu language which the local people will not understand.

The other conscious efforts made by the Nandiwallas are in the sphere of clan names and deities worshipped. During our first contact with the Wadapuri Nandiwallas in 1969, we collected a large number of genealogies, and often the clan names of the spouses were the same. Since we certainly knew that as a rule, among the Hindus and the tribals, marriage within a clan are not only prohibited but are considered incestuous, there was something wrong here. We struggled hard to get down to other distinctions in terms of *devak* (a kind of identity of the family) etc., but nothing seems to explain the situation. The research team included two persons who could speak Telugu fluently but even their penetrating questions could not clarify the situation.

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We had to wait untill 1972, the next triennial assembly of these nomads. By this time KCM had developed some working knowledge of Telugu. In one of our casual meeting, a family was discussing future marriage of one of their members and during the discussions, which were in Telugu, they referred to other family as *Pangottadu.* We picked up this clue and on further enquiries we discovered answer to what was bothering us. What they were telling us so far were actually the adopted clans and not their original clans. Thus each family has two clan names (or more appropriatly surnames), one original and the other adopted one. Our enquiries with the Wadapuri Nandiwallas revealed that reason for adopting surnames was that their own surnames were so different when compared to the local ones. Here, then, the group made conscious efforts to adopt local clan names and what is implicit in doing so is an attempt towards identification with the host region.

Similar situation was encountered among the other Nandiwallas found in Ahmednagar, Aurangabad, Bhir and Nasik districts. The Original and adopted surnames among Wadapuri and other Nandiwallas, are set out in table 1 and 2, respectively.

The next point to be investigated was obviously, whether the adopted surnames were chosen at random or that followed certain in terms of association with certain ranked castes. Interestingly enough, the majority of the adopted clans among the Wadapuri Nandiwallas pertained to the Dhangar (Shepherd) caste-cluster, and few belonged to the Marathas-an agricultural land owning caste. Similarly the other Nandiwallas adopted surnames of not only Dhangar and Marathas but also another caste-the Fulmalis.

Now the question is why they have chosen surnames of Dhangar, Maratha and Fulmalis and not of other castes ? It is well known that the Indian society is characterized by the co-existence of hierarchical status groups, in which each group (caste or tribe) has a rank assciated with a set of behavioural pattern. A migrant group is, then, immediately faced with this question of occupying a status in the stratified micro-structural environ, or an identity which is locally viable. Here Merton's *reference group theory* can be applied, though in a restricted sense, because the main emphasis of the theory rests on the "Processes through which men relate themselves to groups and refer *their behaviour* to the *values*[12] of these groups "[13] Our long contact with the nomads did not reveal any aspects of their culture where they were trying to refer *their behaviour* to the *values* of the Dhangars. On the contrary as we shall see in the next section, the Nandiwallas make conscious efforts to retain several of their cultural

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traits. In our opinion here is a situation which could be considered as an extension of the *reference group theory*, i.e., referring a certain group for purposes of achieving identity in terms of social rank by adopting certain symbol in a pluralistic society, rather than 'evaluation and self appraisal in which the individual takes the values on standards of other individual groups as a comparative frame of reference'.[14] But this non random selection of Dhangars, Marathas and Fulmalis as reference groups fits well into the prediction Merton made "sociological theory holds that identification with groups ..occupying designated status does not occur at random but tends to be patterned by the environing structure of established social relationships and by prevailing cultural definition".[15] Further the reasons for Nandiwallas identifying with the Dhangars seem to be the fact that the Dhangar caste-cluster comprising of 23 endogamous castes are mainly concerned with sheep rearing, blanket weaving and cattle breeding and that most of them are semi-nomads. The association of Nandiwallas with the bull coupled with nomadism compares well with the Dhangars. Identification with higher castes like Brahmins would have been rejected by the society and similarly identification with the scheduled castes would have lowered their own status. Moreover since they are associated with the sacred bull (*nandi*), they are *per se* a touchable caste, and therefore the choice of a reference group would be from among the touchable castes. As a matter of fact the untouchable groups (scheduled castes) would act as negative reference groups. This is what is precisely seen in their behaviour; they do not accept cooked food from these castes. So far it is seen that the efforts of the Nandiwallas have been to achieve a viable rank (social status rather than an assimilation with the Dhangar caste-cluster. Actually it is not even necessary for a group to be a member of a ranked caste-cluster to confirm with all the cultural traits. It will be of interest here to mention that the 23 castes which comprise the Dhangar caste-cluster in Maharashtra show marked differences with respect to language, religion, profession, pattern of marriage and so on; each one has its own identifiable identity.

Now we put here a few words regarding the adopted surnames of the Marathas and the Fulmalis. In the regional caste hierarchy the Marathas and the Fulmalis occupy a rank next to the Brahmins and are above the Dhangar castes. While the former is an agriculturist caste, the latter are growers of flowers, market gardners and cultivator of turmeric and cumin etc. In dress, speech and customs the Fulmalis are like the Kunbis and the Marathas.[16] Here, then, the motivation appears to be upward mobility in terms of rank.

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The choice of three different reference groups suggest the flexibility of the ranking system, and that the same ethnic group may achieve different ranks. This supports Karve's theory of formation of caste-cluster.[17]

The other conscious effort the Nandiwallas have made is in adopting local deities. They worship a large number of deities : Ambaji-Limbaji (Bapu Saheb), Navnath and Shivnath Maharaj, Mumba-devi, Nana Saheb, Firisti Mariba, Ranabai, Satvai, Mhasoba, Gumasta Dev etc. Interestingly enough, all these deities are Maharashtra based and none appears to have originated in Andhra Pradesh. Also, none of these deities are pan-Indian in character, or associated with higher castes in Maharashtra. They are also not specific to Dhangars; the main deity of Dhangars in western Maharashtra is Biroba and that is not worshipped by the Nandiwallas. The deities mentioned above are mostly whorshipped by the middle castes. The Nandiwallas own explanation regarding adopted deities is that "we had to give up our gods as they could no more look after us in a new area; the local deities are more powerful and only they can bring happiness to us and protect us against evil spirits." Here again the motivation is to identify with the region.[18]

Let us now examine the present materials in terms of Eisenstadt indices of assimilation. The Nandiwallas have, as seen earlier, adopted certain traits of the host society but have deliberately retained a number of their own cultural traits (see next section). According to three indices of Eisenstadt mentioned earlier the Nandiwallas are far away from full assimilation. But it will be equally difficult to say that they are not intergrated in the host society, actually they are an integral part of the social, economic and ritual network of the area in which they opeate.[19] Similarly when the present materials are considered in terms of seven fold sub-process of assimilation advanced by Gordon it appears that the Nandiwallas are not an integrated part of the area of operation. Although according to both these models the Nandiwallas have yet to fully assimilate, all the same inspite, lack of full assimilation in terms of Gordon's criterion number 2 and 3, the Nandiwallas are no more regarded by the host society as alien. And as argued before actually it is not necessary within the frame work of the existant structure to aim at full assimilation, and yet integration is possible.

3. *Maintenance of ethnic identity*

Inspite of the fact that, as is evident from the preceeding account, the Nandiwallas have consciously adopted certain traits of host culture, they are

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still a distinct caste-cluster in terms of having a membership which identifies itself and is identified by others.[20] We shall examine here the conscious efforts made by the Nandiwallas for maintenance of group identity. This is largely achieved through the mechanics of their caste-panchayat (council). The Nandiwallas have a very strong caste-panchayat whose functions are many fold-mediation, adjudication and political mechanism.[21] Besides, the panchayat also enforces norms of behavioural pattern. For it enforces strict endogamy, pattern of dress, code of conduct like not to steal, not to pick up quarrel with the sedentary people etc. A few examples will illustrate the point : in 1973 several young males were fined Rs. 16/-each, because they had cut their long head hair tufts; few males who had worn a cap instead of turban were also fined Rs. 16/-each; a person was fined for developing quarrel with sedentary people. It is obligatory on part of each one to assemble at Wadapuri in the specified year. In the last 10 years two families have got settled and are engaged in agriculture but even they have to fix their *pals* (huts) at Wadapuri. Marriages and rituals and adjudication of disputes are done only at Wadapuri. These social constraints are exerted by the panchayat to retain group identity and solidarity.[22]

Another fact which emerges out of this analysis is, as Barth[23] cogently argued that "the simplistic view that geographical and social isolation have been the critical factors in sustaining cultural diversity" fails to explain the present situation. On the contrary what we have seen is that culture differences can persist despite inter-ethnic contact and inter-dependance.[24]

Conclusions

From the foregoing the following seven main features emerge :

(1) the 'push' factor at the point of origin is most crucial in certain migrations, and in many migrations the 'pull' factor may be completely absent;

(2) The destination point is often exploratory rather than pre-concieved;

(3) integration within the host society can be reached with limited assimilation or acculturation;

(4) depending upon the nature of host society the migrant groups set variant goals of assimilation;

(5) in a stratified host society like India the migrants main attempt is to identify with certain ranked groups to achieve regional identity;

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(6) in a stratified society complete assimilation as could be assessed by the indices of Eisenstadt and Gordon is hardly reached;

(7) ethnic identity can persist despite constant inter-ethnic contact and inter-dependence.

These seven features associated with short-distance migration involving not too diverse ethnic groups could fruitfully be used for developing short-distance model.

Table 1. Original and adopted surnames, and corresponding reference group among the Wadapuri Nandiwallas.

Sr. No.	Surnames		Reference group.
	Original	Adopted	
1.	Ugamodu	Bandidhangar	Dhangar
2.	Padmenodu	Dhangar	Dhangar
3.	Yeradeshodu	Waghmode	Dhangar
4.	Talkandodu	Waghmode	Dhangar
5.	Pedbainodu	Dhangar	Dhangar
6.	Avdadoddu	Dhangar	Dhangar
7.	Alurodu	Chougule	Dhangar
8.	Jamtodu	Hatkar	Dhangar
9.	Pedhainodu	Pawar	Maratha
10.	Batlodu	Jadhav	Maratha
11.	Kamtamoudu	Kadam	Maratha
12.	Yerdeshoundu	Shinde	Maratha
13.	Komtodu	Gaikwad	Maratha
14.	Lakavadu	Pawar	Maratha
15.	Pangattodu	Jadhav	Maratha
16.	Modlodu	Pawar	Maratha

Note : This list does not include all the surnames; only a few have been given for illustration.

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Table 2. Original and adopted surnames, and corresponding reference group among the other Nandiwallas.

Sr. No.	Surnames		Reference group.
	Original	Adopted	
1.	Avdadoddu	Ahwad/Gaikwad	Maratha, Vanjari
2.	Ingodu	Ingale/Fulmali	Mali
3.	Bingodu	Pawar	Maratha
		Hatkar	Dhangar
		Fulmali	Mali
4.	Shintalodu	Shinde	Maratha
		Fulmali	Mali
5.	Goddodu	Pawar	Maratha
6.	Yermashettodu	Hatkar	Dhangar
		Pawar	Maratha
		Fulmali	Mali
7.	Pinmodu	Pawar	Maratha
8.	Kanchkamodu	Fulmali	Mali
9.	Yelmalodu	Fulmali	Mali
		Hatkar	Dhangar
10.	Kaṭabainodu	Kakade	Maratha
		Katkale	Maratha
		Fulmali	Mali
11.	Malabainodu	Fulmali	Mali
12.	Jangod	Jangle/Jhakhle	Maratha
		Fulmali	Mali
13.	Dodmolodu	Pawar	Maratha
		Fulmali	Mali
14.	Upnabainodu	Fulmali	Mali
15.	Sherklodu	Shelke	Mali
16.	Vargantoddu	Fulmali	Mali
17.	Sandagallodu	Fulmali	Mali
18.	Rashtodu	Fulmali	Mali
19.	Paltyadu	Palve	Vanjari

Note : The list includes only a few surnames.

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MEGALITHIC CULTURES OF SOUTH-EASTERN UTTAR PRADESH

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The location of megalithic sites—tombs and habitational, over a considerable parts of the Vindhyan tracts of south-eastern Uttar Pradesh constitutes a new chapter in Indian Archaeology. The megalithic monuments of south India, it may be observed, has engaged the attention of archaeologists over a century. It was a general presumption that this culture was confined to south India alone, within the boundaries of the states of Karnataka, Andhra, Kerala and Tamilnadu. As late as 1959, Sir Mortimer Wheeler had to observe 'the main bulk of south Indian megaliths lies to the south of latitude 18, which runs a little north of Hyderabad, in other words, it begins south of the Godavari system'.[1]

In the history of the Megalithic Culture of the northern Vindhyas, the year 1962, marks a turning point. It was in this year that Prof. G.R. Sharma located the megalithic monuments-cairn circles and cists near the foot of the Hathinia hillock on the right bank of the Chandraprabha in Chakia sub-division of Varanasi district.[2] In subsequent year, when the megalithic character of the tombs was fully established, Prof. G.R. Sharma visualized that the occurrence of the megaliths in the valley of the Chandraprabha would not have been an isolated phenomenon, but a part of an extensive culture. With a view to locating such sites, the hilly tracts of south-eastern Uttar Pradesh comprising parts of Varanasi (Chakia sub-division), Allahabad (Meja sub-division), Mirzapur (Chunar and Mirzapur sub-divisions) and Banda (Karvi sub-division) were explored.[2a] The effort was crowned with success. The megalithic sites were located either near the junction of the northern slope of the Vindhyas and the alluvial of the Ganga valley or in the river valleys enclosed by the hillocks or on the plateau of the Vindhyas flanked by the Vindhyachal in the north and the Upper Rewa Ranges in the south or on the Upper Rewa Ranges itself, in different altitudes and settings. This vast area from the valley of Karmanasa on Uttar Pradesh-Bihar border in the east to the valley of the Paisuni-Mandakini on the Banda-Satna border in the west[3] measures about 320 km. These explorations have placed the northern Vindhyan region on the megalithic map of the world. In the following pages an attempt has been

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made to describe the sailent features of the Megalithic Cultures in south-east Uttar Pradesh in the light of the excavations conducted at Kakoria on the Chandraprabha[4], and Kotia[5] and Koldihwa-Deoghat on the Belan.

II

Watered by the Karmanasa, Chandraprabha, Garrai (Varanasi), Belan, Seoti and Tons (Allahabad), Jargo, Koi, Chatar-ki-Nadi along with its tributaries like Jogiadari and Simaria Nala etc., Khajuri, Ojhala, Adwa, Belan and and Seoti (Mirzapur) and the Paisuni (Banda) from east to west, the explored region forms part of Baghelkhand (Varanasi, Mirzapur and Allahabad) and Bundelkhand (Banda). It is hilly and charaterised by step formations gradually rising from north-east to south-west. 'The region marked by diverse and rugged topography is made of granite-gneiss, sand-stone and serrated ridges of quartz reefs'.[6]

Soil of the region with extensive alluvial pockets is sedentary and represents *in-situ* development. Calcareous soils, slightly alkaline in reaction characterised the Bellan Valley.[7] In addition to grass and shrubs, teak, dhak, salai, bamboo, tendu, Khair and mahua are the principal trees found in the region. Of the surviving fauna, mention may be made of tiger, leopard, bear, langur, monkey, nilgai, chital, deer, Jackal and fox etc.

Megalithic sites in Varanasi District

As indicated above, Chakia sub-division of Varanasi was the first region of the northern Vindhyas to draw the attention of the archaeolegical world regarding the occurrence of the Megalithic Culture. The megalithic monuments—cairn circles and cists have been located around the Hathinia and Bhadahawan hillocks in the Chandraprabha valley and at Kaurihar near the Latif-Shah bund in the valley of Karmanasa.

With a view to ascertaining their nature and relationship with their counterparts of south India and to obtaining information regarding the burial practices and life of the Megalithic man of the area, 12 burial tombs and four cuttings in the habitational area were laid bare.[8]

Of the 12 monumnents, 8 were cairn circle, 3 cists and the remaining one, a cist within a cairn. Geographically speaking, 10 monuments were situated at the foot of the Hathinia and the 2 at that of the Bhadahawn.

The excavations revealed that for preparing a cairn circle, a rectangular pit was dug out in the hard natural soil to an average depth of 1.37 m. Bulk

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of grave furniture—pottery, terracotta bead, microliths, gold bangle and skeletal remains were placed on the floor level to which a cushion of red sand was invariably provided. Regarding the locale of the burial goods no uniform practice was observed. It was found placed either near the corner of the pit (Meg. IV. and VIII) or in the centre along the southern edge of the grave (Meg. IX) or in the centre itself (Meg. XII). Grave goods in case of Meg. VIII, were found to have been placed at different depths—from bottom to the lip level. At the end of the ritual, the pit was generally covered with the same dug out earth, but in the cases of Megs. I and XI some imported stuff—a blackish soil was also found thrown inside the pit. To close the whole ritualistic procedure, a hemispherical cairn of boulders bounded by stone circle of varying diametre was erected.

Cist does not appear to have been a popular burial type in the valleys of the Chandraprabha and Karmanasa. Only seven or eight monuments of this category have been located against the thousands of cairn-circles. The longer axis of the cists runs east-west.

For preparing a cist, first of all a pit was dug out into the hard natural soil. Thereafter, the orthostats were put up in such a fashion so as to form the four side walls of a box-like chamber. In some cases, a secondary packing of small stone pieces was provided from both the sides of the orthostats to prevent their collapse. At the close of the burial ritual, the tomb was sealed by a massive monolithic stone slab resting directly on the four uprights. The orthostats and the capstones often enclosed by stone circle generally rose above the old ground.

In comparison to the complex cists of the Deccan and south India, the cists of Chakia are embroynic. Built of multiple stone pieces, these cists have neither monolithic orthostats nor the interlocking on the swastika pattern. Besides, the cists of the Chandraprabha valley are smaller in size in comparison to their counterparts of the Deccan and southern India, the biggest measuring only 1.37 m. from the ground. No port-hole was noticed in any of the tombs.

The third burial type-cist within a cairn (Meg. X), looked like a low rising cairn of untrimmed blocks before excavation. The excavation disclosed a cist tomb within a grave-pit, almost in the centre of the stone-circle. The cist was oriented east-west and measured 1.82 m. × .91 m. The four sides of the cist were prepared of small stone pieces resting directly against the four side walls of unlined grave pit. Though the cist was found in an excellent state of preservation, neither the bottom nor the capstone was encountered. Among

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its yields four stone slabs of indeterminate use and a few pot-sherds are note worthy.

Of the burial goods of the megalithic graves of Chakia mention may be made of pottery, microliths (Meg. III and Meg. XI), golden bangle (Meg. III), terracotta beads and finally the skeletal remains.

The ceramic assemblage included Black-and-Red, Black-slipped and the ordinary red wares. Dishes and bowls with everted rim and roundish profile, perforated vessels, lids, pedestalled cups, and small elliptical and globular jars were the principal types. No painted sherd was found.

Microliths, fashioned on chert, consists of lunates, blades, blunted backs, scrapers and a serrated blade along with flakes and chips. No tool or weapon made of bone or metal was found from any of the graves.

The skeletal remains were few and far between. Out of 12 munuments opened in the area, only five yielded skeletal evidence. From Meg. I and Meg. IV were found teeth-portion of bovid, Meg. V yielded a fragmentary human tooth and the Meg. VI fragments of human skull and an animal bone piece. In Meg. IX were noticed powdered impressions of what looked like, a shaft of humerus, three molar teeth and parts of scapula, rib and clavicle—all of an individual.

The burial goods of the megalithic graves of Chakia give a poor show viewed against their counterparts of Deccan and south India.

Kakoria, the habitational area of the Megalithic people lie immediately to the north-west of the megalithic cemetery of the Hathinia hillock. The site is extended on the either bank of the Chandraprabha covering an area of ·8 km. × ·6 km. Four trenches designated as KKR I to KKR IV were laid out and dug deep upto natural soil struck at a depth of 1.57 m. The entire occupational deposit was represented by 7 layers—all megalithic in content.

Though no cultural break at the habitation site was noticed and many key pottery types continued from the bottom to top, on the basis of material used for manufacturing the microliths, the introduction of a few new types at different levels and the concentration of microliths and pottery in some layers, the entire habitational deposit was subdivided in three sub-phases—1A, 1B and 1C, comprising layers (7) to (5), 4 to 3 and 2 to 1 respectively.

The ceramic assemblage of the habitation area consisted of Black-and-Red, Black-slipped and Red wares, and was essentially the same as its counter-

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parts of the graves. The bulk of the pottery is wheel-thrown and utilitarian plain ware. The most common types include dishes, bowls, perforated vessels, lids, pedestalled cups, elliptical and globular jars.

Certain pottery types like bowls with everted rim, jars with long neck, shallow dishes with internally rolled rims and vases with tapering sides are acclaimed to have their parallels at the chalcolithic sites of central India. Nearer at home in the Ganga valley, Atranjikhera II in Etah district, Uttar Pradesh on the one hand and Sonepur I and Chirand II in Gaya and Saran districts of Bihar on the other have also offered some analogous types. The pedestalled bowls or cups, funnel-shaped lids and elongated conical vases of Kakoria are thought to be the link types between the megalithic cultures of Varanasi in Uttar Pradesh and that of the Deccan and south India.

Of the structural remains exposed at the site, mention may be made of two house plans. One of these belonging to layer 5 was built of mud-blocks. On account of the vertical nature of dig, the full plan of the house could not be available. The exposed part consisted of a court-yard enclosed by rooms of different dimensions. Two fully exposed rooms measured 2.48 m. × 2.84 m. and 2.79 m. × 3.47 m. One of the floors was paved with lumps of burnt clay and potsherds. The other mud-house belonged to layer 2 of the site. The exposed portion consisted of a full room measuring 2.74m × 1.98m. and part of an adjoining room.

Microliths fashioned on chalcedony, agate and chert constituted an important segment of the excavated antiquities of the site. The assemblage consisted of finished tools like blades. blunted backs, lunates, scrapers, points etc. along with blanks, cores and debitage. Employment of crested ridged technique was discernible on a good number of pieces, cores, flakes and finished blades. The thin parallel-sided blades constituted the overwhelming majority of the lithic assemblage. Having close similarity with its neolithic and chalcolithic counterparts of India, the lithic assemblage of Kakoria falls under the category of Short Blade industry.

Of the other antiquities, mention may be made of beads fashioned on terracotta and semi-precious stones, sling balls, pestles and a few copper objects including a ring.

Absence of iron and the N.B.P. ware in graves as well as in habitation area on the one hand and the presence of microliths exhibiting the employment of crested ridged technique, copper objects and the character of pottery on the

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other, are acclaimed to give a chalcolithic character to the megalithic culture of Chakia and a date ranging from the mid of 2nd millennium B.C. to 7th century B. C (just before the advent of the N. B. P. ware on the scene) has hypothetically been proposed for the site.

Megalithic Cultures in Allahabad

Meja sub-division of Allahabad district is the most extensively explored area of south-eastern Uttar Pradesh. Till now twenty-two megalithic sites, burial and habitational, have been located in the valleys of the Belan, Tundiari, Seoti, Gorma and Tons. Kotia, Mando, Deoghat, Khajuri, Majhigawan, Lonamati, Kapasi-Kalan, Kundidiha, Kondi, Daiya and Basaha-Hardawn etc. are some of the important sites. The burial types located in the district consisted of cairn, circles, and cists, the latter constituting the majority. With a view to understanding the structure, burial practice and cultural contents, the burials of Kotia were selected for excavations and 5 tombs—1 cairn circle, 3 cists and 1 cist within a cairn were opened in 1964.[9]

The excavation demonstrated that the method of constructing a cairn-circle at Kotia on the Belan was almost the same as at Hathinia discussed above. Bulk of grave furniture comprised pots, beads, animal remains and iron implements.

Unlike the cairn circles, the cists of Kotia displayed a divergent structural feature. For constructing a burial of this category, a rectangular chamber with east-west orientation was dug into the hard natural ground upto a depth of 60.76 cms. Four walls of the chamber were prepared with multiple small stone pieces placed in vertical rows of two or three courses. As the sides of the pits were slanting, the stone pieces directly resting against them, were found reclining outward and very often an offset was provided between the two successive courses to cope with the gradual broadening of the pit towards its mouth. No effort was made to pave the bottom of the pit, nor was provided a monolithic covering at the top. The uppermost course of structure has always been found to rise above the surrounding ground so as to demarcate the burial even from some distance.

Like the cairn-circles at the site, the cists also contained pottery, beads skeletal remains of animals and iron implements. After the end of the ritualistic procedure, the entire area inside the chamber was covered with sandstone pieces. In certain cases, this covering consisted of two or more vertical courses.

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The excavations conducted at Kotia also brought out variations within the general practice of erecting a cist-chamber outlined above. In the case of cist I, measuring 5.86 m. × 4.26 m., it was observed that the chamber of the cist was divided into three compartments and in this connection, it could be compared with the transcepted cists of south India. Initially, the whole chamber was divided into two compartments, the eastern and the western covering 1/3 and 2/3 of space respectively. The eastern compartment was further sub-divided into southern and northern sub-compartments, the former being 1/3 of the eastern chamber. No provision for interconnecting the three chambers was made.

In constructing a cist within a cairn circle, the method followed was the same as in the case of a cist, with the only difference that in this case, the cist was found concealed within a heap of stone-rubbles and could become visible only after the removable of the heaped-up cairn. Some of the monuments of this group at Kotia, were made conspicuous by erecting standing stones at the top of the cairn imitating the rectangular chamber enclosed within.

The megaliths of Kotia as indicated above, yielded pot-sherds, animal bones and iron implements. The ceramic assemblage included Black-and-Red ware, red ware and a dull coarse black or grey ware—all in thick fabric. Shallow bowl-cum-dish without turned rim and flattened base, bowls with hollow or solid pedestal, shallow bowl with round edge, bowl with ledged shoulders, thick dish, dish-on-stand (?), shallow dish with clubbed rim, shallow dish with internally thickened rim, cooking vessels with sharp carination, knobbed lid, medium-sized vessel with everted rim and large elliptical storage jars etc. constituted typological make-up of the assemblage. The pottery of Kotia, it may be observed, is plain, utilitarian and wheel thrown. It is sturdy and well-fired.

From the burials, numerous bone fragments of domisticated animals including ox (bos indicus), sheep and pig were obtained. Some of the bones bore cut-marks indicating thereby deliberate slaughter of animal. A few pieces of charred bones along with an ash-deposit were also encountered at from two of the graves. Do these suggest cremation ?

A corpus of iron implements—sickle, adze, arrowhead and dagger etc. was collected from the megalithic graves of Kotia. In this connection, it may be mentioned that almost all the sites yielding the Kotia ware have also yielded iron slags suggesting thereby that the culture belonged to a full-fleged iron age.

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Recent explorations conducted in different parts of the Northern Vindhyas – Western parts of Mirzapur. Allahabad (Meza sub-division) and Banda (Karvi sub-division) in Uttar Pradesh and Rewa, Satna and Sidhi in Madhya Pradesh, have brought to light the wide spread of Kotia ware. Available evidence suggests that like the Painted Grey ware of the Upper Ganga Valley and the N. B. P. ware of the mid-Ganga valley, the Kotia ware was the principal ware of the Northern Vindhyas in Early Historical times.

For fixing a tentative chronology of the megalithic burials of Kotia on the Belan, the following points were thought significant:

(1) These megaliths belonged to a fully developed iron age;

(2) Meg. II and Meg. VB, the earliest in the series of the excavated megaliths yielded a few pieces of the proto-N.B.P. ware.

(3) Some of the pottery-types associated with the burials of Kotia appeared to have survived in the same or modified form at the historical sites of the Ganga valley or in the megalithic levels of the Deccan or south India.

(4) No microlith was found from any of the graves of Kotia.

(5) Pottery of the megalithic tombs of Kotia is quite different from its counterpart of Kakoria on the Chandraprabha.

The cumulative evidence, thus, suggested that the megalithic culture of Kotia was later than its counterpart of Kakoria, but nearer in time to the megalithic culture of south India. As such, a tentative date ranging from 8th century B. C. to 4th century B. C. was proposed for it.

A carbon sample collected from one of the graves of Kotia has yielded a date reading 2200 ± 105 B. P.[10] This suggests that the megalithic culture of the Kotia region continued to flourish till 3rd century B. C.

The above chronological scheme, however, does not hold good for all the megalithic sites of Allahabad. A close scrutiny of the ceramic assemblage collected from numerous megalithic sites when viewed in the light of excavated materials of Kakoria, Koldihwa-Deoghat and Kotia enables one to divide all the explored sites into three groups :

1. The sites like Koldihwa-Deoghat on the Belan, Lakhahar on the Seoti and Besaha-Hardawn on the Gurma-all situated within a radius of 12.87 kms. from Kotia, show affinity with the megalithic sites of Varanasi. Black-and-Red, the Black-slipped and red wares having identity in fabric and

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typology with the Kakoria assemblage have been obtained. Microliths consisting of cores, flakes, and finished tools, some exhibiting the employment of crested ridged technique, have also been collected from these sites. The pottery types include hemispherical bowl with pedestalled base and everted rim, dish with convex side, everted or grooved rim and saggering or flat base, shallow dish with internally thickened rim, shallow or deep basin with convex side and collared rim, trough with everted rim, handis with outturned featureless rim, high necked vases, medium sized vases with oval profile and sharply carinated rim, footed and perforated vases, lage storage jars with sharply carinated neck and finally the conical funnel shaped lids etc.

The recent excavations conducted at Koldihwa—Deoghat on the left bank of the Belan have produced all the above mentioned types along with microliths including crested ridged flakes and cores, bone arrowheads both tanged and socketed, copper objects and beads fashioned on semi precious stones and terracotta. No iron object was found from this horizon.

In the light of the archaeological evidence gathered from the excavations of Kakoria in Varanasi and Koldihwa—Deoghat in Allahabad, the sites constituting the first group in Allahabad represent the earliest group of the megalithic culture of the district and appear to be quite close to the megalithic culture of Varanasi, though slightly posterior to the latter on account of its superior pottery on the one hand and paucity of microlith on the other. Absence of iron in this culture suggests a chalcolithic horizon to it.

2. The site of Khajuri opposite to Koldihwa—Deoghat on the right bank of the Belan, seems to represent the second stage of the megalithic culture of Allahabad. From this site, not only the typical pottery of Kotia but a few shapes of Koldihwa—Deoghat along with microliths and iron fragments have also been collected. This comingling of assemblage of two cultures at one and the same site might have been the result of a continuous settlement from the chalcolithic to the iron age, but for testing the validity of this hypothesis, excavation at the site is a desideratum.

3. The third stage of the megalithic culture of Allahabad is represented by Kotia, Kundi-dih and Lonamati on the Belan, Kapasi-Kalan on the Seoti and Badauan Kalan and Majhigawan on the Tundiari. The Kotia type of pottery (as exemplified by the excavations conducted at Kotia), fragments of iron, iron slags and pieces of glass bangle have been collected from all these sites. Microliths and Kakoria type of pottery are absent. The sites pertaining to this phase are extensive and constitute the highest mounds in the area.

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An analysis of the available data suggests a long history ranging from the later half of 2nd m. B.C. to the mid of 1st. m. B.C. But for putting the various phases of this evolving culture into bold relief, excavations of various sites are desiderata.

Megalithic Cultures in Mirzapur District

The explorations conducted in the valleys of Jargo, Koi, Chhatar-ki-Nadi, Jagiadari, Simaria Nala, Khajuri[11], Adwa and Seoti[12] have led to the location of various megalithic sites—burials and habitational. Of the prominent sites, mention may be made of Banimelia-Bahera, Barji, Karanpur-Deopur, Arjunpur-Lauria, Jaraha, Lakhimpur, Chitampur, Lalpurwa, Galara, Mahugarh, Maheshpur, Marwa, Nawgawan, Khuntabir and Garabara Raja etc. Dolmenoid cist and cairn-circle are the principal burial types, the former constituting the majority.

The cairn-circles of Mirzapur are almost identical with their counterparts of Varanasi and Allahabad in morphological features. The structure of dolmenoid cist needs comment. Four walls of the box-like chamber are constructed of small stone chunks and not of single or multiple slabs as in the case of orthostats of south India. Chamber, thus erected is sealed by a capstone. No post-hole was observed in any of the cists.

Five megalithic monuments—one cairn made up of heaped stone rubble, one cist enclosed by a cairn and three tumulous (chamber type) containing rectangular or occasionally semi-circular chambers, made up of dressed stone with a single or multiple capstone and enclosed by a heap of rubble mixed with mortar and at times covering the capstone, were opened in 1963 between the villages Banimilia and Bahera in the Jangal Mahal area of Chunar sub-division of Mirzapur.[13] Total yield of excavation consisted of a few microliths (Meg. I and Meg. II) a few bone fragments (Meg. IV) and pot-sherds of dull red ware (Meg. IV) Black-slipped ware (Meg. I) and finally Black-and-Red ware.[14] As per report, the two cuttings laid out in the habitation-area established the priority of the dull red and overfired red wares over the Black-slipped and Black-and-Red wares.[15] Neither the sherds of the N.B.P. ware nor iron piece is reported from burial or habitation site.

The recent explorations conducted in the werstern part of Mirzapur in the valleys of the Adwa and the Seoti have brought to light the occurrence of the Kotia type of pottery at the megalithic sites. As per evidence of Kotia and the allied sites of Allahabad, these sites may also be ascribed to the later half of 1st millennuim B.C. when Iron had come in full use.

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In the light of the archaeological evidence gathered from different megalithic sites of Allahabad, the megalithic cultures of Mirzapur may also contain numerous groups—some early, some late. It is not unlikely that the culture might have spread from east to west.

Megalithic Sites of Banda

Three megalithic sites—burial and habitational have been located in Karvi sub-division of Banda District. These are Jhurri on the Paisuni on the Banda Satna border, Pahara near Bharatkupa and Lalapur[16] on the Ohan on the Allahabad Karvi Road.

Cairn-circle is the only burial type at all these sites.

The ceramic assemblage of these sites divides them into two groups. The site on the Jhurri has yielded sherds of the Black-and-Red, Black-slipped and the principal types include bowls and dishes with everted rim. lipped basin, basin with externally collared rim, vases with narrow concave neck and externally thickened rim. Some of the red ware sherds bear incised and applique designs. Besides the pottery, microliths have also been picked up from the site.

The ceramic assemblage of the above site is almost identical with its counterpart of Kakoria on the Chandraprabha in Varanasi and Koldihwa—Deoghat on the Belan in Allahabad. In the light of the excavated material of these two sites, the megalithic site on the Jhurri may be termed chalcolithic.

The megalithic sites of Pahara and Lalapur have yielded Kotia type of pottery and thus are linked with the iron age megalithic cultures of Allahabad and western Mirzapur.

The above evidence suggests that like Varanasi, Mirzapur and Allahabad, in Banda also megalithic cultures flourished for a considerable length of time ranging from the later half of 2nd millenium B. C. to the later half of 1st millennium B.C.

III

To sum up, the above survey makes it evident that megalithic culture was widely distributed in south-eastern Uttar Pradesh from the bank of the Karmanasa in the east to that of the Paisuni in the west. Scattered over this vast tract, the megalithic tombs present regional variations. While Varanasi and Banda abound in cairn-circle, in Mirzapur and Allahabad cist appears to have been the favourite type.

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The evidence at hand suggests that in south-eastern Uttar Pradesh, the megalithic culture was a 'shifting phenomenon both in space as well in time', with various stages easily marked out. (I) The megaliths of Chakia sub-division in Varanasi (as established by the excavations conducted at Kakoria), some of the megaliths of Allahabad (as indicated by the excavations at Koldihwa—Deoghat) and that on the Jhurri Nala on the Banda-Satna border represent the earliest stage of the culture. The chalcolithic character of this group has been established by the excavation of Kakoria and Koldihwa—Deoghat. (II) The megalithic culture of Chunar sub-division of Mirzapur District appear to be later than its counterpart of Varanasi and Banda while that of western Mirzapur bordering the Allahabad district have yielded Kotia type of pottery and iron pieces. (III) The megalithic culture of Allahabad is divisible into three phases:

A. The megalithic sites of Koldihwa—Deoghat and Lakhahar are comparable to their counterparts of Kakoria in Varanasi and the site on the Jhurri Nala in Banda-Satna border and are chalcolithic in content.

B. The site of Khajuri on the right bank of the Belan represents an intermediary stage from chalcolithic to the Iron age as is suggested by the co-occurrence of Kakoria and Kotia types of pottery from the site.

C. The Kotia group of sites represents the 3rd stage-fully developed Iron using culture.

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16. The sites of Pahara and Lalapur have recently been explored by J.N. Pandey of the Department of Ancient History, Culture & Archaeology, University of Allahabad.

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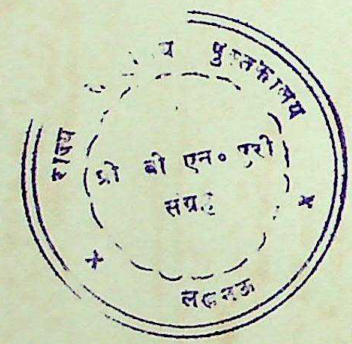

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